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NATO Is Unable To Resolve Dispute On Turkey, Greece

BRUSSELS — NATO countries failed Wednesday to resolve a dispute over allegations by Greece that Turkey poses a threat to its security. During meetings involving the U.S. secretary of defense, Caspar W. Weinberger, and other NATO defense ministers, Greece demanded guarantees from NATO, spelled out in a formal communiqué, that the alliance would protect it from "aggression" by Turkey.

A-Deterrence Called Dead By an Expert

Alliances Crumbling, Jane's Analyst States

LONDON — The nuclear deterrent that has kept the peace of the world for 36 years is dead, killed by the crumbling cohesion of both the Eastern and Western alliances, the aviation expert of the Jane's military annuals said in a report to be released Thursday.

"With the cohesion of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact alliances crumbling, and the vast popular anti-war movements gaining strength, a massive and urgent reduction of nuclear weapons is clearly essential," said John W.R. Taylor, editor for 22 years of Jane's All The World's Aircraft annual.

However, he asserted that the West should rebuild its conventional forces to match burgeoning Soviet strength.

Mr. Taylor, 59, was writing in a press release for the 1981-82 edition of the aviation annual of Jane's Publishing Co. Ltd., whose military works are considered authoritative.

In 846 pages and with 1,824 illustrations, the book catalogs the world's armaments.

The editor emphasized that the time had not come for complete nuclear disarmament, and certainly not for unilateral nuclear disarmament.

"Neither a growing acceptance by military leaders of the feasibility of limited nuclear warfare, nor a drift by the civil population towards anarchy, via protest, offers a path to survival," he wrote in a foreword to the annual.

He added that "unilateralists cannot point to any period of history when abandonment of all forms of defense deterred aggression."

Since the annual went to press in October, there have been more disarmament demonstrations, including one last Saturday in Bucharest at which Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu asserted that the East-West arms race "may trigger world catastrophe." He called for the removal of all nuclear weapons from Europe.

Utah Opposition

As evidence of anti-nuclear feeling in the United States, Mr. Taylor mentioned only the people of Utah who made clear their opposition to the shuttling of MX missiles around their state.

In effect, Mr. Taylor's thesis was a plea for the West to rebuild its advantage in conventional weapons of war — tanks, aircraft and warships — in which "the Soviet Union already has an unassailable lead, with hundreds of modern supersonic bombers and attack aircraft in service."



Liza Alexeyeva, daughter-in-law of Andrei D. Sakharov, out last September with Yelena Bonner, Mr. Sakharov's wife.

Sakharov's Fast Said to End

By Dusko Doder

MOSCOW — A Soviet official was quoted Wednesday as saying that Andrei D. Sakharov has ended his hunger strike after being told that the government would yield to his demands and allow a young woman, his stepson's wife by a proxy marriage, to emigrate to the United States.

The woman, Liza Alexeyeva, 26, said she was summoned to the headquarters of the KGB secret police on Wednesday and informed that she had been granted permission to leave the country.

"I have been authorized to tell you," Miss Alexeyeva quoted a KGB official, Alexander Baranov, as saying on Wednesday, "that yesterday you were granted permission to leave the country. Mr. Sakharov was informed of it and he ended his hunger strike yesterday. He is feeling better today."

There has been no other official or unofficial information about the Sakharovs, who were forcibly hospitalized last Friday, the 13th day of their hunger strike. Mr. Sakharov, a 60-year-old nuclear physicist, had vowed that he would not end his fast until Miss Alexeyeva was allowed to join her fiancé, Mr. Sakharov's stepson, in the United States. They were married by proxy there last June.

His Daughter-In-Law Says KGB Promises Her a Visa

There was no jubilation at the Sakharovs' Moscow apartment, where Miss Alexeyeva is living. Mr. Baranov had cautioned her that the processing of her documents will depend on her behavior, especially in dealing with Western journalists.

"He told me that I should behave with restraint because information I was giving earlier [to journalists] had produced anti-Soviet feelings in the West," she said. Mr. Baranov did not ask her to stop seeing correspondents, but only to change "the character of my relations with them," she said. Of the Sakharovs, she said: "I

would very much like to see them." She indicated, however, that she would not insist on going to Gorki, 250 miles (400 kilometers) east of Moscow, where Mr. Sakharov was exiled nearly two years ago.

The decision to grant Miss Alexeyeva permission to emigrate would represent an unprecedented Kremlin concession to the man who developed the Soviet hydrogen bomb but who subsequently turned into a government critic and symbol of the drive for human rights.

Costly Victory

But Mr. Sakharov's victory has been quite costly. It is yet to be assessed what sort of damage the protest did to his health. It is clear, however, that his reputation in the Soviet Union has suffered considerably because he chose to make a stand on what is seen here as a generally minor issue involving

members of his family rather than on broad moral and political issues that he first raised in criticizing Kremlin policies in 1968.

Yet, if there is one man in this country whose accomplishments, intelligence and strength of character could permit such challenge to be mounted with dim hopes of success, it was Mr. Sakharov. Over the years he was awarded more honors than virtually any other Soviet scientist. He was also the recipient of the 1975 Nobel Peace Prize for his human rights activities.

His pre-eminent standing in Soviet science — and more than 20 years of work in developing Soviet military might — made his hunger strike an especially complex issue for the authorities. There is also his high reputation in the West, where his name has become a household word.

The last thing the Russians wanted at a time when they are assiduously courting Western public opinion is to have a man of such eminence die on a hunger strike. Remarks by Mr. Baranov on

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School Raided, Storefronts Shut As West Bank, Gaza Tensions Rise

By William Claiborne

RAMALLAH, Israeli-Occupied West Bank — Tensions in the West Bank and Gaza Strip continued to rise Wednesday as Israeli security forces raided a girl's school here and arrested about 200 students for conducting an illegal demonstration. Army troops in Gaza welded shut the doors of 200 Arab shops in retaliation for a commercial strike.

The protests, along with scattered incidents throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip, marked the beginning of a second month of disturbances by Palestinians opposed to the imposition of a new civilian administration in the occupied territories' military government.

Staff members of the Ramallah "peace" training center, which is operated by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, said that Israeli soldiers burst into the school Wednesday morning after students raised a Palestinian flag and chanted nationalistic slogans.

In a statement, the school administration alleged that the Israeli soldiers were preceded by two civilians carrying cameras and claiming to be British photographers.

A spokesman for the Israeli Army command said "about 200" students were taken to military government headquarters for questioning, but that most were expected to be released without being charged. The army spokesman denied that soldiers beat students or wrecked the cafeteria, and said he had no information about civilians posing as cameramen.

Nearby, at the Kalendia refugee camp, two soldiers whose car was stoned opened fire, the army spokesman confirmed. Stoning incidents were also reported in

Nablus and near Bethlehem, and Palestinians conducted a sit-in protest at Bethlehem city hall.

Palestinian sources in Gaza said that 300 Arab shopkeepers had their steel entrance gates welded shut as punishment for participating in a commercial strike against the occupation. They said the welding continued throughout the afternoon.

The Gaza Strip town of Rafah, where a 16-year-old student was killed and three others wounded when soldiers opened fire during a demonstration Monday, remained under curfew. Shopkeepers closed for the second consecutive day, and fires smoldered in the streets.

Students Held

Israel Plans Canal

TEL AVIV (AP) — Israel will proceed with plans to channel water from the Mediterranean Sea to the Dead Sea despite a United Nations resolution condemning the project, Energy Minister Yitzhak Mordechai said Wednesday.

Israel plans to build a water conduit from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea to generate hydroelectric power. Part of the waterway's planned route is through the occupied Gaza Strip.



Women walked past burning tires in the Gaza Strip town of Rafah, where merchants closed their shops for the second day to protest the fatal shooting Monday of a youth by an Israeli soldier.

Arab World Bewildered as Reagan-Qadhafi Confrontation Intensifies

White House Threatens 'Most Serious Consequences'

By Ronald J. Ostrow and Robert C. Toth

WASHINGTON — The U.S. government has threatened Col. Moammar Qadhafi with "the most serious consequences" if the Libyan leader does not call off any plans he might have to assassinate President Reagan and other U.S. officials, administration officials said Wednesday.

A Reagan administration official pointed out in this connection that Belgium has been looking after U.S. interests in Libya. Without confirming that Belgium was the intermediary in this instance, the official said he was certain that Col. Qadhafi had been made aware of what would happen if Libya went through with any assassination plot.

On Tuesday, the White House communications director, David R. Gergen, said that the United States had been in contact with its allies on the Libyan matter. He did not elaborate.

At the Belgian Embassy, a spokesman said that any representation to the Libyans would have gone directly through the U.S. Embassy in Brussels to the

Belgian government and not through Belgian diplomats in Washington.

Belgium has been representing U.S. interests in Libya since the United States withdrew all personnel from its embassy in Tripoli in 1980.

The White House, meanwhile, has persuaded the Senate to hold off on a resolution calling for a halt to oil imports from Libya, so that the president would have a free hand in dealing with the country.

On Tuesday, Sen. Gary Hart, a Colorado Democrat, denounced Libya as "an absolutely intolerable government" and introduced a Senate resolution urging that U.S. imports be ended. He called for stopping "as soon as possible American financing of terrorism, especially when that terrorism is directed against our country."

But Sen. Hart agreed to withdraw the resolution, which was co-sponsored by several other senators, after the Senate Republican leader, Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, said the White House would inform Congress within 48 hours of what it planned to do about Libya.

The ending of U.S. imports of Libyan oil is known

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Mideast Analysts See Boost to Libyan Leader's Image

By Loren Jenkins

BEIRUT — The Reagan administration's public confrontation with the erratic Col. Moammar Qadhafi is inadvertently boosting the Libyan leader's cherished image in the region and tarnishing U.S. credibility among other Arabs around the Middle East, according to Arab analysts here.

While opinion varies widely as to whether Col. Qadhafi has in fact launched his suicide to assassinate U.S. leaders in Washington, as U.S. officials claim (and doubt is even raised over Libya's capability of doing so), the analysts are almost unanimously puzzled and worried by what they term Washington's "overreaction" to the alleged threats from Libya.

Few, if any, doubt Col. Qadhafi's potential for mischief and trouble. The often mystical Libyan leader's ambitions for pan-Arab leadership are too well known throughout the Middle East. Residents of the area are aware of Col. Qadhafi's ability to train terrorist groups and to purchase hit squads, like those he unleashed in Europe a year ago to eradicate exiled

critics of his regime, and of his calls for the death of Anwar Sadat and others who have opposed him.

But interviews with Arab officials, diplomats, scholars and journalists in Beirut indicate a general feeling that what one called "the almost paranoid" Washington view of Col. Qadhafi is counterproductive, giving Col. Qadhafi an importance that is hardly shared among his fellow Arabs.

"Cowboy Diplomacy"

Washington's public denunciations of Col. Qadhafi and its threats to solve "this problem in an effective, prudent but unequivocal way," as Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. put it recently, have created sympathy for Libya among many Arabs who view such U.S. actions as an arrogant exercise of "cowboy diplomacy," as a Kuwaiti newspaper called it. So have the 6th Fleet naval exercises off Libya's Mediterranean coast (and the resulting aerial clash that ended with the downing of two Libyan jets) and the recent "Bright Star" military exercises and B-52 practice bombings in the Egyptian desert just off Libya's eastern border.

Washington's seeming focus on Col. Qadhafi, the

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

South Africa Extends Apartheid to TV Channel

By Joseph Lelyveld

JOHANNESBURG — In a logical extension of its theory that racial and cultural groups can flourish only if they are kept strictly separate, South Africa is about to inaugurate a new television channel that will be beamed exclusively at black viewers.

When black television begins New Year's Eve with a six-hour variety show in five African languages, the state broadcasting monopoly will have attained a milestone for the system known as apartheid, providing one television service for whites and another for blacks.

Within another year, the black channel is due to subdivide into two on regional and linguistic lines so that there will be, in effect, two buttons for blacks on most television sets and one for whites.

The main barrier against white fingers straying to black buttons or vice versa will be linguistic. The South African Broadcasting System forbids mixing of languages in programs or commercials; broadcasts for blacks must be exclusively in Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Sotho and Venda.

The black popular press, by contrast, is mostly in English, which is widely used as a lingua franca when blacks assemble to eulogize

U.S. Reportedly Selects Ambassador

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration has selected Herman Nickel, a former foreign and Washington correspondent for Time and Fortune magazines, for the post of ambassador to South Africa, according to administration sources.

If the appointment goes through, Mr. Nickel, who is now on a leave of absence from Fortune and writing a book, will be returning as ambassador to a country from which he once was in effect expelled. The Time correspondent there in 1961 and 1962, he was forced to leave when the South African authorities refused to renew his visa. The sources said Tuesday that the South African government was aware of Washington's intention to nominate Mr. Nickel and was not expected to object.

fallen leaders or otherwise react to political events. But there can be no such thing on television, on either channel, as a program in English directed at blacks.

This approach tends to rule out bilingual talk shows in which South Africans of various hues might discuss the country's problems in a common language. It also presents advertisers who want to reach all viewers with the costly burden of preparing their messages in seven languages — the five African languages plus English and Afrikaans, which are used exclusively on the existing channel for whites.

Urban Africans tend to mix several of these languages, including English and Afrikaans. But blacks

will not normally be allowed to utter a word of English or even Tswana in a commercial or program for Zulus.

A filmmaker, shooting a so-called "slice of life" commercial in a township, said he had to go to 33 takes of a single sequence before achieving a standard of Zulu purity that was acceptable to the South African Broadcasting Corp.

"They are just being consistent," a black associated with a company that is planning to produce its products on the new channel said caustically. "They believe there is no such thing as a black South African. We can only be Zulus, Xhosas or Tswanas."

Thus, van Heerden, who is in charge of programming for the

Growing Audience

The most recent survey estimated that blacks own about 235,000 sets. By the time TV2 goes on the air, the television executive said, there should be a potential black audience of 1.5 million to 2 million viewers.

By the end of next year, when its five transmitters are all in operation and electrification programs are due to have been completed, the audience will jump to 4 million, Mr. van Heerden predicted, putting it on a par in size, but not buying power, with the white audience.

Those blacks who are watching television now are obviously tuning in on programs in English or Afrikaans that were designed exclusively for whites. Asked what guarantee there was that they would switch to the black channel, Mr. van Heerden pointed to the

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GLOOMY DAY — Danish Premier Anker Jorgensen, center, conferred with his aides after parliamentary elections in which his Social Democratic Party lost nine seats. Story, Page 4.

INSIDE

Shiite Hijacking

Lebanese Shiite Muslim militants holding 35 hostages aboard a hijacked Libyan airliner again land the Boeing 727 in Beirut. They announce that they intend to end the three-day odyssey. Page 2.

The Rock

For the 25,000 residents of Gibraltar, who have been trapped up on their 2 square miles since Spain closed the frontier in 1969, there is good news and there is bad news. Page 4.

UAW Contracts

The United Auto Workers executive board decides to show its bargaining comradery by negotiating current contracts with the auto industry's workers approve. Page 15.

TOMORROW

Hong Kong Focus

A special supplement on Hong Kong will appear in Friday's editions of the JHT.

WORLD NEWS BRIEFS

Martens Pursues Belgian Coalition

BRUSSELS — Premier-designate Wilfried Martens, a former premier and a Flemish Social Christian, began talks with French-language Social Christians and with both language branches of the conservative Liberals on Wednesday, with a view to forming a center-right Belgian government coalition.

Mr. Martens, 45, said Tuesday that he aims to set up the 32d postwar government by Dec. 22. "Although I do not underestimate the difficulties, I believe such a Cabinet can be formed," he said.

Inconclusive elections on Nov. 8 left Social Christians and Socialists each with 61 of the 212 parliamentary seats, and Liberals with 52. An attempt by Foreign Minister Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb, a French-language Social Christian, to link the three parties in a coalition collapsed Monday.

Cyprus Leader Asks U.S. Mediation

WASHINGTON — Cyprus President Spyros Kyprianou said Wednesday that the United States could use its alliance with Turkey to play "a very positive role" in ending the long-standing dispute between Greece and Turkey over the island.

Mr. Kyprianou told reporters that "time will tell" if the administration can exert its influence over Turkey, which occupied about 40 percent of the island in a July, 1974, invasion.

Mr. Kyprianou and President Reagan met briefly Tuesday in the Oval Office. The Cypriot president later had lunch with Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. Despite the talks, which he termed productive, Mr. Kyprianou said he was not optimistic about resolving the difficulties facing Cyprus.

Turkey to Ask Death for 52 Leftists

ANKARA — An Istanbul martial law prosecutor will demand death sentences for 52 leftist union leaders at a trial set to open on Dec. 24, it was announced Wednesday.

The leaders of the Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions will be brought to trial on charges of attempting to change the constitutional order of the state and establish a proletarian dictatorship, according to sources who have had access to the 865-page indictment.

This is the first time since the armed forces came to power Sept. 12, 1980, that a military court will demand capital punishment for suspects not directly linked to terrorist activities, according to Turkish legal experts. Up to now, 10 persons have been executed under the military regime for crimes connected with political violence before the military takeover.

U.K. Labor Party to Probe Militants

LONDON — Michael Foot, leader of Britain's opposition Labor Party, won a narrow victory Wednesday for his demand for an investigation of Militant Tendency, a radical left-wing group that has infiltrated the party.

The demand was approved 10-9 by the party's Organization Committee during a stormy debate in which supporters of the leftist group charged Mr. Foot, 68, with witch-hunting. Party moderates, meanwhile, charged that Militant Tendency was trying to take over the party and that its members were Maoists, Marxists and Trotskyites.

Right-wing and moderate members of the divided party have been pressing Mr. Foot for months for action against leftist infiltration, which they said was losing Labor votes to the new Social Democratic Party.

Cortes President Extols Democracy

MADRID — Speaking amid a standing ovation from a joint session, the president of the Cortes, Landelino Lavilla, Wednesday defended Spain's 1978 constitution and denounced "obscure forces trying to question or even destroy the manner of living together that we call democracy."

In the past, Spaniards were "indifferent observers" of political events, Mr. Lavilla said, "but today they are the serene guarantors of liberty and the firm guardians of democracy."

Nine months ago, military dissidents stormed the Cortes and held more than 320 members hostage for 16 hours. One hundred officers and enlisted men issued a manifesto last Sunday supporting the jailed coup leaders and attacking the government.

Libyan Plane Is Back In Beirut; Hijacking To End, Militants Say

BEIRUT — Lebanese Muslim militants holding 35 hostages aboard a hijacked Libyan airliner landed the Boeing 727 in Beirut on Wednesday night after announcing they would end the three-day odyssey.

But almost immediately after the plane taxied to a far end of the runway, reporters at the airport could hear bursts of automatic weapons fire. Radio conversations monitored between the hijackers and the control tower indicated that the Shiite hijackers were firing warning shots to drive away the Lebanese and Syrian army units that set up a perimeter of armored cars and gun-mounted jeeps around the plane.

A spokesman for the hijackers warned Lebanese security and Syrian troops against approaching the plane, saying a "disaster will happen if this warning is not heeded."

TV Channel For Blacks

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ability of the state radio stations for blacks — there are eight — to hold an audience estimated at 5.5 million.

Others suspect that the black television audience may be hard to woo. The attempt to maintain ethnic barriers on the airwaves is resented by many blacks for political reasons; they assume television will be used to give legitimacy to the leaders of the tribal "homelands" sponsored by South Africa.

There is also the question of whether TV2 will be competitive from the standpoint of entertainment. "I don't see anyone watching tribal dancing in the Transkei when they can be watching 'Dallas,'" an advertising man said.

In fact, part of the \$110-million cost of getting black television started has been the acquisition of foreign programs to hold the new audience.

The station has also signed contracts with the major professional soccer league, which is racially mixed, for showing its games.

Explosion in Cape Town

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters) — An explosion caused extensive damage to the Cape Town offices of the Department of Cooperation and Development on Wednesday, police said. A police spokesman said sabotage was suspected. No one was injured.

According to monitored statements broadcast by a Beirut radio station.

The plane taxied to the northeastern edge of the airport and killed its engines with the right wingtip just 25 yards from a predominantly Shiite neighborhood inhabited by supporters of the hijackers and near where some of the hijackers reside.

Quickly flashing lights from the windows of the blacked-out plane were used to pass signals to residents of the area, who in turn tossed rocks into the undergrowth beneath the wings to drive out marksmen who might be poised to storm the aircraft. There was no indication of anyone hiding in the bushes, however.

The spokesman for the hijackers who warned troops to stay away radioed his message from the plane to the control tower and asserted that he and his comrades had decided to end the hijacking and release the hostages "without hurting anyone."

A recording of the hijackers' message was broadcast by a privately owned radio station.

Passengers Weeping

Airport sources said that at one point after the plane came to a halt, a hijacker announced over the radio that he would blow the plane up. "Passengers were heard weeping and pleading with him not to do it," a well-placed airport source said.

Earlier, when the airliner first touched down, the hijackers declared they were ready to surrender and release their hostages, airport sources said.

The hijacking began Monday evening when three gunmen seized control of the plane over northern Italy on a flight from Zurich to Tripoli. It later landed three times in Beirut and made stops in Athens, Rome and Tehran.

The hijackers are Lebanese Shiite Muslims who believe that Libya is secretly holding captive their spiritual leader, Imam Musa Sa'ad, 53, who disappeared on a trip to Tripoli more than three years ago.

The Shiites claim that Col. Moammar Qadhafi, Libya's head of state, is holding the religious leader captive.

After leaving Tehran on Wednesday afternoon, the plane flew to Lebanon and circled over Beirut for permission to land. A hijacker, giving his name as Hameez, told the Beirut airport control tower: "We want to give ourselves up and release the passengers."

The plane touched down and taxied to an area behind a cargo terminal about 300 yards from the main passenger terminal where reporters were posted.



CAPTIVE — Martin Dolinsek, who claimed to be an officer in South Africa's intelligence service, was shown to newsmen after being seized in the Nov. 25 coup attempt in the Seychelles. The Seychelles Wednesday requested a urgent meeting of the UN Security Council on the attack.

U.S. Officials Say Qadhafi Gets 'Most Serious' Warning

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to be among the options under consideration at the White House.

Sen. Baker said he had been told by James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff, that the administration was opposed to action on Sen. Hart's resolution because "at this delicate moment, the president should have maximum flexibility on how to proceed."

Symbolic Impact

Giving added indications that a White House decision was imminent, the National Security Council met Tuesday, with Libya a prominent item on its agenda. The meeting followed one on Monday — back-to-back sessions that have been unusual during the Reagan administration.

A cutoff of oil imports from Li-

bya would have more symbolic than actual impact because Libya supplies less than 1 percent of U.S. daily oil consumption, about 150,000 barrels of the 15.9 million used by Americans.

Loss of sales to the United States probably would not have a serious impact on Libya because few other nations that buy Libyan oil are likely to join a U.S. embargo.

An oil industry source said, meanwhile, that his company expected the government to order it soon to withdraw its personnel from Libya within 30 days. If this takes place, the question will be whether Libya can replace American technicians quickly enough to avoid any disruption in production. There are between 1,500 and 2,000 Americans in Libya.

Libya recently has expanded its production from 600,000 barrels a day to between 700,000 and 800,000.

Clash Is Seen Hurting U.S.

(Continued from Page 1)

rules of a backward oil-rich desert nation of only 3 million people, as the cause of all its frustrations in the Middle East is viewed by most Arabs here as simplistic. The concentration of official U.S. criticism on Col. Qadhafi has revived memories of similar U.S. obsession with Fidel Castro of Cuba and Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, both of whom, people here believe, were helped rather than hindered by Washington's attacks.

"In the eyes of the Arab world President Reagan is looking like a fool," said Hassan Hijazi, the editor of the Middle East Reporter. "Even among those Arabs who don't like Qadhafi there is a feeling that you are giving him undue importance, making him something much bigger than he is."

Another Arab editor who, like most sources in Beirut, preferred not to have his name used, said: "To you in the United States he may be a villain, but to many Arabs the more he is attacked the more he comes out as a hero, a man who can stand up to a superpower."

Arab politicians say that the idea of Col. Qadhafi's small nation, most of whose people are only a generation or two out of their Bedouin tents in the North African desert, as a real threat to the United States is simply not credible here, no matter how much money Libya has, how many turncoat CIA agents it can recruit and how many sophisticated Soviet weapons it can buy.

Limits to Power

Underlying this feeling here is the perception that Libyan influence is limited, and that it is attributable only to Libya's ability to purchase temporary and unreliable support with its \$22-billion-a-year oil income.

"Qadhafi has no real support in the Arab world; no one either cares for him or takes him seriously," said a Palestinian academic close to Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization. "Libya has a lot of publicity but if you take the money away, it would have none. Nasser got publicity for free because Nasserism was a genuine movement. What really is 'Qadhafi-ism'?"

Arabs in general simply look down on Libya. Col. Qadhafi's pretensions to take over the pan-Arab leadership mantle that once belonged to Nasser are viewed with undisguised contempt by non-Libyan Arabs who understand that only a leader from such large and historical centers of Arab power as Egypt, Syria and Iraq could ever be accepted in such a role. Col. Qadhafi's efforts at creating his own original political philosophy, "the third universal theory" dispensed around the world in his little "green book," is an object of open amusement among many Arabs.

During Senate debate on Sen. Hart's resolution, Sen. John C. Danforth, a Missouri Republican, questioned whether the matter had been given adequate thought. There is no clear evidence that past embargoes have succeeded, Sen. Danforth said.

The Senate and White House moves occurred on a day of puzzling crosscurrents in the continuing furor over intelligence information that a Libyan-trained assassination team was in the United States.

Mr. Reagan on Monday dismissed Col. Qadhafi's denials of a plot, saying that the United States had evidence that the Libyan leader had sent an assassination squad to kill him.

But a U.S. intelligence official familiar with the evidence, which he said had been "pieced together from more than one source," said Tuesday that it could not be considered "hard or corroborated."

"Corroboration is in the eye of the beholder, and it's clear that different eyes are looking at this," he said.

Another official involved in the assessment of the information expressed amazement that "so much of this is being played out in the public arena."

"There are threats all the time, and there are steps taken to counter them, but the public never hears about it," he said.

Noting that Col. Qadhafi has denied any plot against Mr. Reagan, the official said: "Col. Qadhafi has the power to make himself right by seeing to it that nothing happens."

Another expert close to the situation suggested that the extraordinary publicity was intended to force Col. Qadhafi to withdraw any assassination teams he had dispatched.

That it chose to relent — and there is no reason to believe that Mr. Baranov's words were part of some ruse to get the Sakharovs to end their protest — indicates that Moscow had decided to resolve the crisis quickly.

It is believed here that some of Mr. Sakharov's friends at the Soviet Academy of Sciences have acted as mediators in reaching the resolution. The president of the academy, Ananoli Alexandrov, indicated in a conversation with Miss Alexeyeva on Tuesday that he was making efforts on Sakharov's behalf.

Polish Regime, Union Exchange Allegations As Church Seeks Peace

By Brian Mooney

WARSAW — Official Polish news organizations continued a propaganda offensive against the trade union Solidarity on Wednesday, accusing its leaders of working for the overthrow of Communism and courting national catastrophe.

The union's powerful Warsaw branch hit back, saying that it was the government, not Solidarity, that was making confrontation inevitable.

The union leader, Lech Walesa, conferred during the day with the Polish primate, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, as the church tried to prevent a more serious conflict between the Communist government and the free trade union movement.

The church announced Tuesday that the primate had sent letters to the Sejm (parliament), to the party leaders Wojciech Janczyski, and to Mr. Walesa, pleading for moderation and renewed dialogue.

The archbishop, making his most direct intervention in the Polish crisis since he was named primate by Pope John Paul II in July, cautioned the Sejm against adopting emergency powers that he said could unleash conflict.

New Meeting Possible

There was speculation that the archbishop was arranging a new meeting between the Communist authorities and the union leaders. After nearly four hours of talks at the primate's residence Wednesday, a Solidarity leader said they were waiting for an important telephone call from the government.

Meanwhile, bank employees seeking higher pay were said to have threatened to refuse to handle official accounts. The press agency PAP said bank employees would boycott central and local government accounts starting Thursday and expand the protest to cover major industry beginning Dec. 17.

"In practice this means that those administrative units will be paralyzed indefinitely," the agency said.

The letter from Archbishop Glemp, which was published Wednesday by Solidarity's Warsaw information service, said the church considered it its duty to speak in the face of mounting social tensions.

"The church expresses profound concern and fear that the enactment of [emergency powers] law will disrupt domestic peace, sever the threads of an agreement taking shape with such difficulty

and unleash a formidable social conflict," the letter said.

Solidarity's second-in-command, Miroslaw Krupinski, has said adoption of the emergency law would trigger an open-ended general strike.

The spokesman of the union's Warsaw branch, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, denied allegations read on national television Tuesday night that the union had established a constituent assembly to conduct national elections behind the government's back.

The television report also said regional union branches were stockpiling bandages, distributing gasoline bombs to workers and planning to take over mines and factories.

Mr. Onyszkiewicz said the reports were an attempt to create public indignation against the union and pressure its leaders into tempering their militance at a policy-making meeting Friday. The union's national commission meeting is due to be held in the Gdansk shanty town where the movement was born last year.

For other Solidarity leaders joined the talks between Archbishop Glemp and Mr. Walesa. They included the union's deputy chairman, Stanislaw Wadolowski, who told reporters the government's latest propaganda campaign had neither hurt nor helped Solidarity.

"The entire nation has no trouble seeing through such propaganda," he said.

Mr. Wadolowski suggested that the authorities had begged a Solidarity meeting last week to obtain tape recordings, widely publicized by the state-controlled news organizations, to show that the union was bent on confrontation.

Foreign Criticism

Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia joined in the attack on Solidarity, saying the union had revealed itself as a counterrevolutionary organization preparing to destroy Socialism in Poland.

A report from the official Bulgarian press agency said tape-recorded statements by union leaders had unmasked "a counterrevolutionary group of people pursuing their own political ambitions for power and trampling on the interests of the people and the country."

The official Czechoslovak Communist Party daily, Rude Pravo, said of the recent Solidarity meeting at Radom: "Solidarity's leaders announced the beginning of preparations for the final attack on the positions of the people's power."

French Leader Vows To Hold to His Plans

By Axel Krause

PARIS — In firm and reassuring terms, President Francois Mitterrand defended his government's economic and social program Wednesday and predicted that France's worsening unemployment would level off next year and begin falling by 1983.

During a live, one-hour televised interview with two French news executives, Mr. Mitterrand also said that Israel had to recognize the right of Palestinians to a homeland and that the Palestinians and the Arab nations should recognize Israel's right to exist within secure borders.

This comment, made during an interview that focused mainly on domestic issues, was prompted by suggestions in Israel, based on remarks by External Relations Minister Claude Cheysson, that France was changing its Middle East policy.

Mr. Mitterrand said his government's plan to nationalize 11 industrial groups and 36 banks would be implemented. But the plan would not be extended nor revised during the parliament's term ending in 1986, nor of his, ending in 1988. "There is no risk of a new wave of nationalizations," he said.

In what political observers said was a determined effort to reassure France about Socialist policies, Mr. Mitterrand said that overhauling the tax and social security systems plus decentralization of France's administrative apparatus would be pursued during 1982.

In stressing the continuity of the Socialist program and campaign,

pledges, Mr. Mitterrand brushed off differences between Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy and Finance Minister Jacques Delors and said he did not intend to arbitrate between them. "The prime minister has responsibility of the government," he said.

The question was prompted by wide and continuing debate over recent expressions of clear-cut differences between hard-liners and moderates in his government over how fast to carry out Socialist policies.

The debate broke into the open just over a week ago when Mr. Delors urged a "pause" and then Mr. Mauroy countered that the government fully intended to proceed with plans as they were originally announced by the president.

Asked about his health, Mr. Mitterrand said that he had developed a painful case of lumbago in August, that it had been successfully treated and that he was carrying on a "normal" workday of 10 to 12 hours that included foreign travel. He said a medical bulletin describing his health would be issued Tuesday.

Mr. Mitterrand called on business leaders to cooperate with his government. But he said his purpose in calling for better communication with the business community was not to reassure them but to promote better understanding of his government's policies and "to open their eyes."

He reiterated his intention to pursue an expansionist economic policy aimed at increasing production and particularly new investments, but he did not explain how this would be accomplished nor did he announce new measures.

Predicting that France's inflation rate would not surpass around 14 percent this year, Mr. Mitterrand said that his government's policy would lead to a reduction in the number of unemployed, now approaching 2 million, by 1983 after leveling off next year.

In the reference to France's Middle East policy, Mr. Mitterrand said he would make his views clear to Israeli leaders during a visit there in February. Earlier Wednesday, French officials said there had been no change in policy and that the government still believed Western Europe had a role to play in the search for a Middle East settlement.

Bolivian Labor Leader Is Reportedly Exiled

The Associated Press

LA PAZ — A Bolivian labor leader, held incommunicado since his arrest Nov. 25, has been exiled to Sweden, Roman Catholic Church sources said here.

The labor leader, Demetrio Barrientos, was said to have been active in underground labor organizing since the July, 1980, military coup that deposed the civilian authorities.



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Reagan Weighs Moves to Cut Budget Deficit in Fiscal '83

By Steven R. Weisman
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — President Reagan has begun the process of deciding what steps — all political distasteful — he should take to reduce the budget deficit for the next fiscal year from its newly projected level of \$152 billion.

In contrast to the harmonious scene of a year ago, when Mr. Reagan first tackled the federal budget as president-elect, the deliberations Tuesday were marked by the forecast of a continuing recession and disagreement on the best course to follow.

In a session Tuesday afternoon with David A. Stockman, director of the Office of Management and Budget, Mr. Reagan reviewed the broad proposals for spending cuts for the 1983 and 1984 fiscal years. The review was conducted in the context of new preliminary estimates that showed the deficit in the 1982 fiscal year, which began Oct. 1, had grown to a record of \$109 billion over three months after the administration estimated that it would be \$93.1 billion.

David R. Gergen, the senior White House spokesman, said "little can be done" now to reduce the new 1982 deficit figure, since it

was too late in the fiscal year to enact any basic changes in spending levels. In September, Mr. Reagan sought congressional approval of \$16 billion in savings for this year, but he has since said that he would accept \$4 billion.

Because of the recession, administration economists have had to raise their estimates of the deficit to \$109 billion for 1982, \$152 billion for 1983 and \$162 billion for 1984.

White House aides said Mr. Reagan reviewed the budget, keeping in mind four theoretical ways to reduce the deficit: cutting appropriations for regular nonmil-

itary programs; tightening benefit formulas for welfare, Medicaid, pensions and other entitlement programs; cutting military spending; and increasing taxes.

There were indications that different administration officials were advocating different approaches.

William A. Niskanen, a member of the Council of Economic Advisors, said it would be preferable to have a higher deficit than to cut military spending or increase taxes.

But Mr. Stockman and James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff, were reportedly sticking to

the view that tax increases or military spending cuts should be considered, since the deficit in their view could impede economic recovery next year.

Some at the White House feel that Mr. Reagan should be willing to accept a much higher deficit than he has been willing to contemplate. Mr. Reagan has long advocated balancing the federal budget, and he only recently abandoned this goal for 1984.

But others were said to be so worried about the deficit that they were prepared to urge Mr. Reagan to consider more military spending cuts, and more tax increases, to help close it. Knowledgeable aides at the White House said that Mr. Stockman and Mr. Baker shared this second view, even though both were rebuffed by the president when they pushed the approach in August and September.

According to one official, it is the strategy of Mr. Stockman and Mr. Baker to have the president review all of the proposed budget cuts before making a final decision. Thus he would presumably see for himself the political difficulty of exacting major new spending cuts and come around to the view that he must seek new military spending cuts or new taxes.

Pay Increase Approved

WASHINGTON (WP) — A pay increase for about 40,000 government executives was included Tuesday in the Republican draft of the spending bill for the bureaucracy that Congress is expected to approve before adjourning for the year.

Government executives' hopes for a pay increase have been raised and dashed repeatedly over the last two years since their salaries were frozen at a maximum of \$50,112, but congressional sources said a pay rise for them now appears likely.



New candidates in the running for UN secretary-general, from left: Shridath S. Ramphal, Jorge Illueca, Carlos Ortiz de Rozas, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, and Javier Pérez de Cuellar.

5 New Candidates Enter the Race For Post of UN Secretary-General

By Bernard D. Nossiter

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. — Five new candidates for the post of secretary-general of the United Nations have entered the race following the withdrawal of Tanzanian Foreign Minister Salim Ahmed Salim.

Mr. Salim, 39, opposed by the United States on 16 rounds of voting in the Security Council, followed Tuesday the lead taken by Kurt Waldheim last week. Mr. Waldheim, seeking an unprecedented third term as secretary-general, was voted 16 times by China and took his name off the ballot.

New Candidates

Both have indicated that they are still available if the council remains deadlocked. But most of the council's 15 members believe that there will be a new secretary-general when Mr. Waldheim's term runs out on Dec. 31.

The new candidates are Javier Pérez de Cuellar of Peru, a former UN undersecretary-general; Shridath S. Ramphal of Guyana, secretary-general of the Commonwealth; Carlos Ortiz de Rozas, Argentina's ambassador to Britain; Jorge Illueca, the foreign minister of Panama; and Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, the former UN high commissioner for refugees.

The Security Council's president, Olara Otiuno of Uganda, said he would leave the list open for late entries until Wednesday evening. Mexico has been debating whether to nominate Jorge Castañeda, its foreign minister.

The best known of the candidates is Prince Sadruddin, whose nomination comes from Jordan as his own through family ties. His French birth, Swiss residence and American education stamp him as more Western than Asian. The Russians have sent out informal signals that they have questions about him. Mr. Ramphal's biggest hurdle will also be the Soviet Union.

Mr. Ortiz de Rozas was vetoed by the Russians when he ran against Mr. Waldheim in 1971. Since then, however, Argentina has shipped wheat and beef to the Soviet Union, partly to offset shipments stopped by the United States. Argentina's human rights record could handicap Mr. Ortiz de Rozas in the eyes of several Security Council members.

Mr. Illueca is not well known here, although he served as Security Council president when it was Panama's turn this year. The Soviet Union could also be an obstacle for him and for Mr. Castañeda.

Mr. Pérez de Cuellar may be an exception. He has served as Mr. Waldheim's representative seeking to find a formula satisfactory to all sides that would remove Soviet

troops from Afghanistan. He has had extensive dealings with Moscow, both in this job and as the Peruvian ambassador to the Soviet Union.

The Security Council agreed Tuesday that members will be given papers with the names of all the candidates. First the five permanent members and then the 10 other members will mark in secret only those names they oppose, casting informal, negative ballots. From this straw poll, Mr. Otiuno will determine which candidates stand no chance of election. He will then ask if they are willing to withdraw. The other candidates, and any who decline to pull out, will then be voted on formally. This could take place as early as Friday.

U.S. High Court Lifts Bar on Campus Prayer

By Linda Greenhouse
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that a public university that permits student groups to meet on campus for secular activities must also allow student religious groups to meet for worship and religious study.

In an 8-1 vote Tuesday, the court struck down a regulation adopted by the University of Missouri that prohibited the use of university property for "purposes of religious worship or religious teaching." The regulation was challenged by an evangelical Christian student group called Cornerstone, one of more than 100 recognized student organizations at the university's Kansas City campus, that was denied the use of a room for its weekly Saturday night meetings.

The court based its ruling on the students' constitutional rights of free speech and association, rather

than on their right to the free exercise of their religion. Associate Justice Lewis F. Powell Jr., writing for the majority, said it was not necessary to decide the "free exercise" issue in light of the court's free speech holding.

The case, arriving at the Supreme Court at a time of renewed political interest in the relationship between religion and government, attracted widespread notice, with a number of major religious organizations filing briefs. The dissent was by Justice Byron R. White.

Justice Powell emphasized that the "basis for our decision is narrow." The ruling, applying only to voluntary religious practices at state-supported universities, indicates no change in the court's view that the Constitution bars officially sponsored prayer in the public schools.

The decision, *Widmar vs. Vincent*, upheld a decision by the 8th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Reagan, Haig Lobby for Foreign Aid Package

By William Chapman

WASHINGTON — President Reagan and Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. appealed for bipartisan support of foreign aid as Congress approached a moment of truth this week in which Republican votes will be crucial.

The president Tuesday endorsed two pending foreign aid bills in letters to House leaders, and Mr. Haig made an unusual personal appearance in the Capitol to urge traditionally reluctant Republican members to back their president's request.

Their efforts marked the first time in the current budget confrontation that the administration, which has urged sharp cuts in domestic spending, has also come out so publicly at the highest levels for foreign aid.

In a separate development, the administration lost a round Tuesday in its effort to gain flexibility for foreign aid to Pakistan. The House Foreign Affairs Committee, ignoring a State Department plea, voted to give Congress a stronger veto power over aid to countries believed to be developing nuclear weapons. Aid to Pakistan was halted under the Carter administration because that country is suspected of developing such weapons.

Coal Mine Explosion Kills 13 in Tennessee

PALMER, Tenn. — Thirteen miners working 3 miles (5 kilometers) deep in a mountain coal mine were killed in an explosion apparently caused by methane gas. The blast brought the death toll to 24 in three Appalachian mining disasters in the past week.

The explosion Tuesday, Tennessee's worst mining tragedy in 70 years, followed the removal Tuesday in Topmost, Ky., of the bodies of eight miners who may have been killed by an explosion of dynamite. Last Thursday, three men were killed when a roof collapsed at a mine in Bergamo, W.Va.

Express Train Towed to Depot On 3d U.K. Run

GLASGOW — Embarrassed British Rail officials Wednesday had to tow Britain's new 160-mph Advanced Passenger Train back to its depot after it broke down on its third public journey.

Officials said that a fault in the braking system forced the Glasgow-to-London express to be halted shortly after it left Glasgow. About 200 passengers were transferred to a conventional train.

The first public trip to London of the APT, built with new technology that allows the entire train to tilt on high-speed curves, went without incident Monday. But on the return trip, the train made three emergency stops when the tilting mechanism broke down and three passengers and luggage around inside the cars.

British Rail has spent £28 million (\$53 million) so far developing the APT, which was scheduled to begin daily services between Glasgow and London on Jan. 11.

However, Rep. Edward J. Derwinski, Republican of Illinois, predicted that 130 or 140 Republican members would "bite the bullet" and vote for foreign aid "in the context of national defense."

Mr. Reagan lobbied for foreign aid in a White House meeting Monday night with 14 Republican congressmen. Mr. Friedersdorf told reporters, "The president is emphasizing the security part of foreign aid and is putting less emphasis on the economic part of it," he said.

In his letter to House leaders, Mr. Reagan said the current legislation "represents a carefully balanced approach to economic and security assistance."

The Republicans are expected to seek to trim spending on multilateral economic aid, particularly for the International Development Administration. The House bill includes \$850 million for that program. The Senate has approved only \$520 million and House Republicans will try to cut it back to that lower level.

Latest Version of U.S. Farm Bill Could Cost Taxpayers \$11 Billion

By Seth S. King

WASHINGTON — A House-Senate conference committee, after more than a month of haggling, has agreed on a new farm bill that will cost taxpayers at least \$11 billion over the next four years.

The compromise bill accepted Tuesday was a qualified victory for President Reagan in his effort to slow government spending on non-military items.

But if both branches of Congress accept the committee's proposal, the bill will ensure higher consumer prices for milk and peanuts next fall. If grain and sugar prices continue to decline, it could also cost taxpayers millions of dollars in wheat, corn, rice, and cotton subsidies.

The new version appears headed for trouble when the full House considers it. The measure includes sugar and peanut clauses that the House voted down when it adopted its farm bill in October.

The chairman of the House Ag-

riculture Committee, Rep. Kika de la Garza, Democrat of Texas, warned that very few parts of the bill would satisfy House members. He said it also would be difficult to pass in the Democrat-controlled House because of "the administration's stubborn insistence on many aspects of it."

Thomas S. Foley, Democrat of Washington, the influential House whip and former chairman of the Agriculture Committee, refused to sign the conference report and said he could not advise any House member who asked him to vote for it.

By threatening on several occasions to recommend a veto if preliminary conference agreements were sustained, Secretary of Agriculture John R. Block persuaded Senate Republicans to force down the bill's four-year costs by about \$680 million.

In a committee session Monday, House conferees attempted to increase dairy and sugar price-support levels, but Senate Republi-

cans refused. House members then proposed seeking an agreement on a two-year bill that would raise dairy price supports in the second year and provide the same loan and subsidy rates on grain that the conferees and the administration had already accepted.

But Mr. Block, who sat with the conferees Tuesday, told them Mr. Reagan would veto a two-year bill and would accept nothing more than the version that was finally approved.

The House conferees, by a bare 8-7 majority, then accepted the commodity clauses they opposed Monday. These will result in some of the lower costs Mr. Reagan had demanded. But the bill also includes higher milk price supports than the president first wanted.

Increased Soviet Threat Is Seen by Kirkpatrick

By Don Shannon

WASHINGTON — Soviet foreign policy now poses a greater threat to world peace than at any time since Stalin's showdown with neighboring states in World War II era, according to Jeane Kirkpatrick, the U.S. representative at the United Nations.

In a tough speech Tuesday that laid much of the blame for the rise of Soviet influence on the Carter administration, Mrs. Kirkpatrick said that the Reagan administration came to power facing a world situation of unusual seriousness. That situation, she said, resulted from a huge buildup of Soviet military power and a U.S. policy toward the Third World that fostered discontent and anti-Americanism there.

She made the speech to the American Enterprise Institute, a conservative-oriented research organization.

Even if the Soviet Union does not now hold military superiority over the United States, she said, the United States and the West have definitely lost the superiority they once had.

"The meaning and significance

of this new correlation of forces was not found in painstaking estimates of missiles, throw-weights, tanks and MiGs, but in equally unprecipitated Soviet foreign policy," she said. She then described this policy as "more menacing to the independence and peace of others than at any time since Stalin moved to swallow neighboring states in the period of the Nazi-Soviet pact."

'Operational Objects'

Sea-lanes, strategic resources and the territory of Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America have become "operational objects of Soviet ambition," she said. At the same time, she added, the expectations of progress in developing nations that gained their independence in the last 20 years have foundered in frustration and bitterness.

Soviet expansion and Third World instability and poverty have been made more difficult problems, she said, by the decline of U.S. power and such beliefs as:

- The Carter administration's expectation that economic and cultural ties with Moscow would somehow restrain Soviet expansion.
- "Unprecedented incentives were developed," Mrs. Kirkpatrick said, but "unprecedented aggression nonetheless occurred."

• The Carter administration's theory that restraint in weapon production would bring corresponding restraint in the Soviet military buildup. This argument has been "momentarily stilled by recent experience."

Another theory that foundered only with the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, Mrs. Kirkpatrick said, was that Moscow's aggression was only an adolescent reaction to insecurity — "as there are no bad boys, so there are no bad governments. It is only necessary to change the environment to alter the behavior."

Accompanying the philosophy of détente in U.S. policy was an attitude of "defeatism, self-doubt and self-deception," Mrs. Kirkpatrick said.

She called the 1950 election a "watershed that marked the end of the period of retreat" and a "victory for those who rejected the idea of the inevitability of America's decline."

But she warned that "the new period is an exceedingly dangerous one — perhaps the most perilous in our history — and its outcome is far from clear."

Robot Killed Its Minder in Japan Factory

Reuters

TOKYO — The government Wednesday ordered a probe of safety standards in industrial automation after a factory robot killed its human minder.

The Labor Ministry said it was setting up a committee to inquire into accidents following disclosure of the first recorded killing of a worker by a robot at a factory near the western city of Kobe in July.

According to a report, Kenji Urawa, 37, was crushed to death against a gear-cutting machine by a robot's arm.

Officials said he had entered an off-limits area to check the machine instead of using the specified entrance, the door of which, when opened automatically, switches off the machinery.

In June the International Labor Organization estimated that the world robot population was then 58,000, with about 80 percent in Japan.



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National's 'Oresteia' Is Big Disappointment

By Sheridan Morley
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — I had hoped to be able to be more enthusiastic about Sir Peter Hall's new "Oresteia," not least because it presents Aeschylus in a version by Britain's greatest modern theatrical poet, Tony Harrison, that has been fully five years in the making, and because it does meet the minimum requirement that the National Theatre ought from time to time to be offering something on a scale and in a style not readily available elsewhere.

Sadly that is the most to be said for what is currently happening at the Olivier: coming as it does almost two years after the broader and far more accessible "Greek" cycle at the Aldwych, this is more in the nature of a classroom exercise. For all three of the plays that make up the "Oresteia" ("Agamemnon," "Choephoroi" and "Eumenides") Hall has opted to have a cast-chorus playing in heavy immobile masks, behind which they are then effectively buried alive.

Not for the first time on the Olivier stage, a deadly operatic ritual has overtaken live drama: a program note of unusual inanity informs us that these masks are not in fact being worn to recreate the anyway unknown conditions of original production, but then adds that they do nevertheless have an effect comparable "to the protective masks worn by welders." That nobody pays £9 a ticket to sit for upward of five hours watching welders at work seems not to have occurred to anyone on the South Bank, and as a result what might have been a powerful visual and aural experience is reduced to the static dimensions of a radio play produced by the inmates of some provincial university drama department latent on returning the classics to their roots.

It is an academic experiment of considerable tedium, largely because, for better or worse, we have now come to expect more of actors than movements of the voice and arms: we need eyebrows and eyes

D'Oyly Carte Closing Seen

The Associated Press

LONDON — It appears "inevitable" that the D'Oyly Carte Opera Company, which produced the first Gilbert and Sullivan operettas 106 years ago, will close at the end of this season, according to a company official. Peter Riley, deputy general manager, said he believed trustees of the near-bankrupt company were unanimous on closing after next February.

and cheeks and chins and mouths not frozen into immobility, and without that kind of life and detail we are left with a carefully choreographed museum display of what Greek drama might have looked like to the Greeks.

Not even the brilliance of Harrison's language and a stunning score by Harrison Birtwistle can bring it to anything more than very occasional flashes of life. Excellent actors whose range, subtlety and differentiation are the hallmarks of their trade are here strapped into solid puppet head-frames through which they are then supposed to relate to a modern audience the remarkable story of Agamemnon's sacrifice and Clytemnestra's revenge and the final verdict on Orestes, and I suppose we were lucky they didn't also have to have one arm strapped behind their backs.

The production ends, incidentally, with the most shamelessly engineered standing ovation I have ever seen in theater, with the actors by word and gesture inviting the audience to rise as the players leave, and the audience responding. As one distinguished veteran critic said on leaving, "When I want a religious experience, I'll go to a church."

'Fausta': Major Donizetti Revival

By William Weaver
International Herald Tribune

ROME — The so-called Donizetti revival has been going on for at least 30 years, and while it has brought about some genuine and valuable rediscoveries, like "Anna Bolena" and "Maria Stuarda," the enthusiasts have also unearthed some routine works, inevitable in the composer's vast production.

Therefore, when the Teatro dell'Opera here announced the first production since 1859 of Donizetti's "Fausta," anticipation was mixed with skepticism. But, in the event, that distrust was misplaced: "Fausta" is unquestionably an important and highly enjoyable piece, and this Roman presentation is a welcome, major contribution to our knowledge of a systematically underrated composer.

Written for the San Carlo in Naples in 1832, just over a year after "Anna Bolena," and only a few months before "L'Elisir d'Amore," "Fausta" belongs to that line of noble, classical works that includes "Polauto" (and its French version, "Les Martyrs") and "Belisario." The characters live on a larger-than-life scale and inspire the composer's finest, most lyrical flights. The long-lined melodies have a sweetness at times suggesting Bellini. They also have a Verdian vigor. But the opera, like all of Donizetti's best, has its own unmistakable, engaging quality.

Daniel Oren, chief conductor of the Rome Opera, had prepared the work with care, and when he fell ill, the prompter, Alberto Leone, took over and produced a fluent, convincing performance. If there were occasional lapses of tension and slack tempos, these were negligible.

The conductor had a sound, experienced cast. In

the title role, Raina Kabaivanska again demonstrated again her gifts as an interpreter. Though her voice is not exceptional (and at times showed evidence of wear), Kabaivanska knows how to put an aria or a scene across, and in this Phaedra-like role she has one golden opportunity after another. She exploited them shrewdly and effectively.

Donizetti wrote some of his most beautiful music for the baritone voice, but the Donizetti baritone is a different animal from the Verdi species. While Renato Bruson can certainly sing Verdi's music excellently, he is particularly suited to roles like Costantino, where he can display his gift for drama and intensity without sacrificing the natural beauty and lyric flow of his singing. He also looks every inch the Roman emperor.

In the less happy role of Crispo, Costantino's son, the tenor Giuseppe Giacomini — always a wooden actor — was also less at home stylistically. He indulged in sobs and shouts now and then, as if he were singing Mascagni. Still the sheer power and ring of his instrument won him applause.

Sandro Sequi, the director, used the artists skillfully, allowing Kabaivanska and Bruson to move and stride and pose, and keeping Giacomini as immobile as possible. Giovanni Agostinucci's virtuosos set was always handsome. The numerous stairs provided a few pitfalls, especially when coupled with Giuseppe Crisolini's costumes, of admirable beauty and taste, but not always easy for the singers to handle. Still, this was a production always enjoyable to watch and, except for a few moments, to hear. Donizetti's "Fausta" is a splendid work, and the Rome staging deserves to travel.

Playing Together: Chess-Mate or Checkmate?

By Judy Klemesrud
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — John and Shernaz Kennedy are both high-ranking tournament chess players. He is 24 years old, she is 27. When they announced that they planned to marry, his worried father took him aside and said: "John, you're going to marry this girl. What happens if one of you becomes a significantly better player than the other?"

It was something the young Kennedys had thought about too. According to other couples who compete at the highest levels of a game — be it chess, backgammon or bridge — it is something that they strongly considered before getting married. They realized that their love of the same game might help bind them together, but at the same time they wondered if the pressures of competing at such lofty levels — often against each other — could eventually split their marriage.

The Kennedys, who met at a chess tournament in 1979 say that one thing they do to prevent competitive conflict is to stay at the same level of play with each other. Mrs. Kennedy, who was born in India, is rated 2046 and is the No. 4 ranking woman chess player in the United States; her husband is rated 2085. Both ratings are in the expert category, a ranking just below master. They consider themselves to be about equal in skill.

"I can't stand it when John's too much above me," Mrs. Kennedy said. "I feel the same way," her husband added.

Playing Against the Clock

So they spend many nights at home in their small apartment in New York with their 8-week-old daughter, Pria, either playing chess with a time clock ("We fight constantly," Mrs. Kennedy said) or studying some of the 200 strategy books in their library.

Kennedy, who works as a production planner for a Long Island electronics company, plays every Thursday night at a local chess club, and both play in tournaments almost every weekend.

To indicate the extent of their love for chess, Mrs. Kennedy took out a picture album that showed the couple playing chess in full wedding regalia during an outdoor reception at Kennedy's parents' home in Northport, N.Y., in October, 1980. "There were five or six chess games going both before and after the ceremony," she recalled with a smile. "We have a lot of chess-playing friends."

The family tournament record so far favors Kennedy: He has had three wins, two draws and one loss against his wife. He grinned when he recalled the first time they competed in a tournament, at the Marshall Chess Club in Manhattan. "I couldn't do it, I couldn't concentrate, so I proposed a draw," he said. His wife added, "It's the first time I've ever accepted a draw without playing it out."

They agreed that the greatest moment of their lives had nothing to do with chess. "It was seeing my daughter being born," Kennedy said. His wife, who had the baby by natural childbirth, nodded in agreement.

Charles (Sugar) Mirzoeff, 31, a top-ranking backgammon player, met her husband, Joseph, 30, over a backgammon board at the Mayfair Club in Manhattan. His first words to her were: "Well, let the wench roll." "We were attracted to each other right away," she said, "even though he hustled me out of \$600 I planned to use on a trip to Monte Carlo."

She was living in Houston at the time, and



John and Shernaz Kennedy, both tournament players, rate themselves about equal.

she was so impressed with his backgammon skills that she invited him there to play as her partner in a tournament. They each lost \$1,000 but wound up getting married six months later.

The couple, who live in Manhattan, say one of the main reasons they are interested in backgammon is that it is usually played for money. Mirzoeff said that he had won \$5,000 and lost \$2,000 in a night. "On most days I win no more than \$200," he said.

At one time Mirzoeff, who has a degree in mathematics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, earned a living from backgammon. Nowadays, since he has a wife and her 11-year-old son from her first marriage to support, he has gone to work as an actuary with a pension and computer consulting concern. Mrs. Mirzoeff supplements the family income by playing backgammon almost every day, usually at the Mayfair Club. Mirzoeff joins her there almost every night and on weekends.

Do they think their mutual interest in backgammon has helped or harmed their marriage? "There is rivalry," Mirzoeff conceded, "but backgammon helps us to understand each other and it gives us a common ground. We

probably fight harder than other couples, but somehow it doesn't seem as serious. It may have something to do with playing games all the time and fighting to win."

When Jacqui and Victor Mitchell of Manhattan began playing bridge together on the tournament level in the late 1950s, there were "a few tears" on her part, Mrs. Mitchell said. She could not recall any specific instances, but her husband could. "I once got punched by her girlfriend on the way out of a tournament because I made Jacqui cry," he said. "All I said was, 'How could you pass?'"

Today the marriage seems much mellower, perhaps because they have decided not to play together in competition. Mrs. Mitchell has risen to the rank of grandmaster, the highest in the bridge world, and her husband is a world master, the second highest.

Asked if she were the better player, he replied affirmatively, but she said: "Oh, heavens no! He taught me how to play bridge. He's the highest authority on all bridge matters."

"She doesn't need me one bit," her husband cut in. "Now I'm just a waiter. I go to tournaments and wait for her."

British Rail Jumps Language Track

From Agency Dispatches

LONDON — A letter from British Rail to a passenger explaining why there was no dining car on a train won the top booby prize in the 1981 Plain English Awards.

"While I can readily appreciate your frustration at the loss of breakfast, since in the circumstances you describe it is unfortunately true that in many cases where a catering vehicle becomes defective and both stores and equipment need to be transferred into a replacement car, this can only be done during the train's journey," the letter from the director of the catering division said in part.

"Almost untranslatable," said Christie Maher, an organizer of the annual awards.

On the other hand, "the standard of many of the entries was better than last year," said Maher. Winners included leaflets by state-owned British Gas ("Help Yourself to Gas Safety"), the Clocktower Association ("Information Pack for Pregnant Women") and the government Customs and Excise department ("Filling in Your Value-Added Tax Return").

This year's losers, each given a plaque and a plate of Lancashire tripe, included two nationalized industries, three local councils, one council leader and two insurance companies.

U.S. Again Says Forged Documents Are Being Used to Discredit Policy

By Charles Mohr
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — State Department officials have drawn attention to the appearance in recent months of forgeries apparently intended to discredit U.S. foreign policy. They attributed some of the forgeries, which have appeared in various parts of the world, to the Soviet Union.

At a briefing Tuesday, two officials distributed copies of a forged letter addressed to King Juan Carlos I of Spain and signed with the name of President Reagan, as well as news stories and memorandums describing four other alleged diplomatic forgeries.

The two officials declined to permit their names to be used and asked to be identified as "senior State Department officials."

The officials said that some of the material "is clearly Soviet-labeled." In other cases, one of the officials said, "we do not know where it comes from" and "we are not saying categorically" that these forgeries originated with Soviet officials.

Frequent Criticism

The Reagan administration has frequently criticized the use of clandestine operations by the Soviet Union that, in the words of a State Department special report, "seek to discredit and weaken the United States and other nations" through such techniques as forgeries of documents and what the world's intelligence agencies call "disinformation."

Disinformation is defined as the use of distorted or false information to the disadvantage of another nation.

In Tuesday's briefing, the officials drew attention to what they described as a "surfacing of forged U.S. war plans" in European capitals on 11 occasions since June, 1980.

The officials said the latest case involved a "leading peace activist" in Norway whose name was given as Bjørn Eikefjord. The officials said he had published an article on Nov. 27 alleging that he was in possession of a U.S. Army document indicating that in the case of a European war the United States would attack targets in Norway with nuclear weapons.

The Norwegian had promised, but had so far failed, to bring the document to the U.S. Embassy in Oslo for examination, the officials said. They added, however, that they believed it was a version of a forged U.S. Army document, subtitled, "Holocaust again for Europe."

1960s by Army Sgt. Robert Lee Johnson, who was subsequently convicted as a Soviet espionage agent.

One of the officials speaking Tuesday said that the forged versions, appearing genuine because they duplicated some of the forms from the stolen documents, were used to try to convince Europeans the United States had military plans to "blow up European targets with nuclear weapons." If the Soviet Union overran portions of Western Europe.

The official declined to say how important he believed the use of such material may have been in encouraging a recent wave of protests in Western Europe aimed at blocking a proposal to deploy 572 U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

The officials did not furnish copies of the alleged forgery itself but only two cover sheets, one of which bore a Department of the Army seal.

The forged letter from Mr. Reagan to the king of Spain urged the king to expedite Spain's entrance into NATO and made unflattering references to some groups and persons in Spain and in other nations. It may have been

Shuttle Radar Survey Covered a Huge Area

By Thomas O'Toole
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — As short as it was, the second flight of the space shuttle last month produced enough of the first radar "photographs" of the Earth's surface to cover 10 million square kilometers (4 million square miles), a region the size of the United States.

The abbreviated three-day flight of astronauts Joe Henry Engle and Richard Truly generated infrared images of 80,000 kilometers (50,000 miles) of the Earth's surface across four continents and spectacular photographs of the tops of thunderclouds around the world.

It also provided measurements from space of where fish schools in the Yellow Sea, the South China Sea and the Mediterranean Sea and the first attempt from space to measure carbon monoxide pollution in the Northern and Southern hemispheres.

"We had planned to do these experiments over five days and we only got three," Dr. James Tarant of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration said at a news conference Monday. "In spite of that, we think this entire mission was nothing short of an outstanding success."

While it will be months before the results are known from the six experiments carried in the shuttle's cargo bay, the scientists who de-

signed the experiments were delighted with the way they worked. The only experiment that did not work on the shortened flight was an experiment to see how fast sunflower seeds grew in weightlessness.

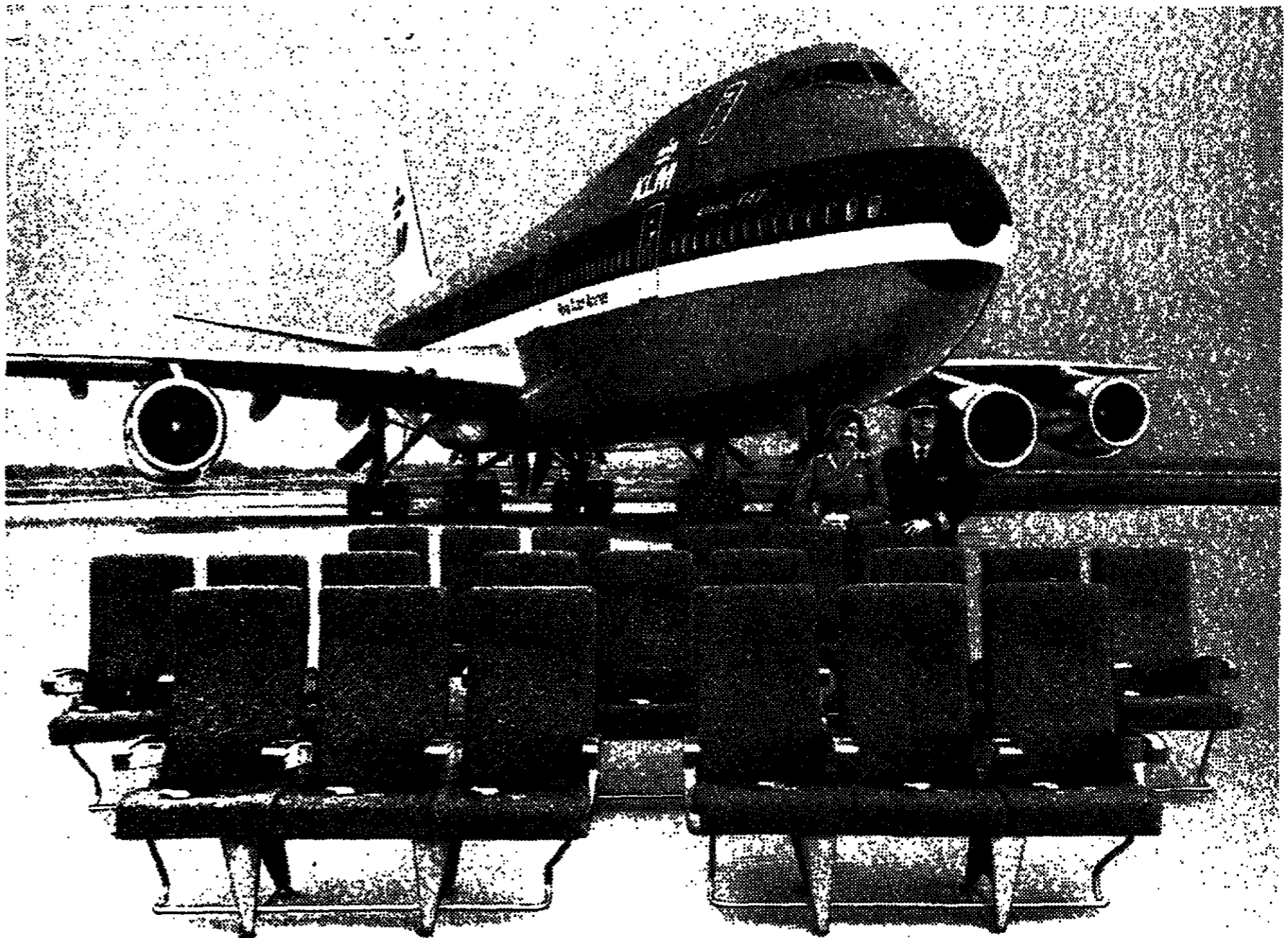
"And the only reason it didn't work was that the mission was too short," said Dr. Allan Brown of the University of Pennsylvania.

"We really needed two more days to prove the results of our experiment."

The most successful experiment was clearly the imaging radar, whose 6-foot-wide radar antenna was able to penetrate storms, the dark of night and the cover of vegetation to return radar "photographs" of 10 million square kilometers of North America, Africa, Asia and Europe.

So sharp were the radar photos that the shallow slopes of the cliffs bordering the Corinthian Canal in Greece could be discerned from space. So sensitive was the radar that images it made of the Mediterranean Sea off Sardinia showed patterns on the sea surface made by the winds.

"This was the longest radar strip of the Earth ever taken," said Dr. Charles Elachi of California's Jet Propulsion Laboratory, where the radar was developed for the Pentagon to map rough terrain. "This is going to be a very useful tool for geologists in the future."



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Coping With Qadhafi

There is reason to believe that the alarm being raised about a Libyan assassination plot resulted in the first instance from an unauthorized leak, not an authorized one. As seasoned Washington hands would know, any leak would be sure to set off a journalistic scramble to put more information on the public record. Still, the distinction is not trivial. An authorized leak of this kind suggests a casualness toward intelligence sources and a disconcerting readiness to raise public expectations of an official reprisal. By contrast, an unauthorized leak suggests "merely" that the administration inadvertently has lost control of the public play.

The discussion of the authenticity of the alarm should not be allowed to distract attention from the heart of the matter, which is the report of the plot. No one familiar with Col. Moammar Qadhafi's record of murder, subversion and aggression can doubt that it was only prudent for American officials to take seriously whatever they may have learned about his plans. A great power invites a certain mocking when it appears so concerned about a small country's supposed depredations. Col. Qadhafi could be seen on television last Sunday playing a delighted David to the American Goliath. However,

there is all too much evidence of the capacities of dedicated gunmen.

Speculation has been rife that the administration might be contemplating military action — action going beyond the downing of the Libyan airplanes in international airspace last August. But the measured pace at which the administration has chosen to conduct its review of policy toward Libya — months have gone by — indicates that any such decision is still some time off. At this point, it would be a foolish decision, we think, although some of the administration's political people may still need a little convincing on the point.

The immediate answer to a physical threat against Americans is to protect them. Otherwise, other steps are available, and necessary, to deal with the overall Qadhafi menace: Order home the 1,500 American oil people in Libya, stop buying Libyan oil, and try to persuade other nations to cut their links with Tripoli. Steps like these will not of themselves bring Col. Qadhafi down. He may even make a certain amount of hay out of them. But they will announce to the world that the United States does not do business as usual with a killer.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

The Timing Is Odd

The Reagan administration wants Congress to repeal the five-year-old Clark Amendment, which forbids any aid, covert or overt, to insurgents in Angola. There are some good reasons for removing such a narrowly directed restraint on diplomacy, but at the moment there are better reasons for keeping the law.

A little too piously, the administration argues that it wants only to re-establish executive authority, that it has no current plan to supply arms to the rightist rebels led by Jonas Savimbi — who just happens to be visiting Washington this week. What makes that argument suspect is that the concern for tidiness has produced no comparable demand to eliminate a hundred other specific prohibitions on aid — to Cuba or Vietnam, for instance. Only Angola has touched the tender point of principle.

The repeal is plainly intended to emphasize Washington's objection to the presence in Angola of 20,000 Cuban troops and Soviet military advisers. The Luanda regime insists that they are needed to deter South Africa's attacks on the Angolan bases of insurgents

fighting for neighboring Namibia. They will depart, it says, once Namibia gains genuine independence from South Africa. And by all accounts, Angola has welcomed American efforts to achieve that independence.

So whether or not Congress should bind the executive as much as it has in recent years, a pragmatic judgment would find the administration putting sand in the gears of its diplomacy. It asks Angola's collaboration on Namibia and wants the Cubans out; yet it pushes for a repeal that threatens intervention and is thus likely to provoke the opposite result.

Mr. Reagan promised in his campaign to aid Mr. Savimbi, whose insurgency is championed by those who think Angola's government is hopelessly compromised by reliance on Moscow. But a Namibia settlement that includes the Cubans' departure would do much more to advance Mr. Savimbi's claims for a share of power. If there is no intention to intervene in Angola, this is an odd time to declare it legally possible again.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Caribbean Winter Lull

Winter is coming in the Caribbean. The flow of little boats from Haiti is slowing almost to a halt. The currents and high seas make the 800-mile voyage too dangerous even for desperate people. In other words, there is some breathing space.

Instead of squeezing still more Haitians into detention camps, or opening new ones at startling locations like the Canadian border, there is now a little time to try solving the problem. A solution is at hand.

So far the Reagan administration has tried scaring off migrants from Haiti with two harsh practices, interdiction and detention. A Coast Guard cutter is supposed to intercept the little boats at sea and take illegals back. Those who nonetheless make it to the United States are supposed to be locked up in detention camps pending hearings. Unless entitled to "asylum" because of a well-founded fear of persecution, they must go back.

These practices are costly; there are already nine detention camps, and more will be necessary. They are an embarrassment to the United States — kangaroo courts, critics

say; concentration camps. They imply racism: Why are black Haitians locked up while Mexicans are allowed to pour in?

And these practices are probably not very effective deterrents. The only half-sensible reason for interdiction is to show refugee-weary Florida that the Reagan administration is tough. A stronger case can be made for detention, but only if those who are supposed to return to Haiti do so. Not many do.

Some 2,800 cases are backed up in a legal logjam; some 2,800 Haitians spend month after month in limbo, staring at wire fences and the prospect of Christmas in captivity.

There is an obvious solution: Break the logjam by creating a simple administrative process staffed by independent hearing officers able to decide asylum cases quickly. Migrants would stay in camps for days or weeks, not months. Bona fide refugees could quickly start new lives. Rejected migrants would quickly depart. There are already 2,800 prisoners of paralysis. When the current change, there will be more.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

A Gilded Embarrassment

The U.S. Gold Commission, a national embarrassment, will meet again this week to continue its wandering debate over the desirability of returning to the gold standard. The idea is, of course, absurd. The Reagan administration needs to consider the damage that this strange proceeding is doing to America's reputation abroad, where the folkways of American politics are not well understood. It is as though a Cabinet-level committee were meeting every few weeks to consider whether the world is indeed flat after all, and to explore the possible implications of a finding of flatness.

This strange endeavor originated in the struggle last year to get through Congress a badly needed increase of the American quota in the International Monetary Fund. Republican Sen. Jesse Helms of North Carolina offered a floor amendment establishing the gold commission; the bill's hard-pressed managers accepted it in the hope of encouraging a little more support. The Republican platform's veiled reference to a gold standard

gave the commission a new meaning after Mr. Reagan's election.

Most Americans understand that a gold standard is entertained seriously by only the smallest minorities of businessmen, bankers, economists and politicians. But the sight of this roomful of eminent people sitting around a table with the secretary of the Treasury to discuss the subject with a semblance of seriousness is enough to stir those recurring fears in financial circles abroad that the Americans are losing their marbles.

The proposal is to tie the value of the U.S. dollar to a metal that fluctuates wildly in price, that has industrial uses strongly affecting its value, and that is mainly produced by the Soviet Union and South Africa — no particular friends of the United States.

The world has had a lot of experience with gold-based currency, and for good reason has abandoned it. A gold standard is a primitive device promising the very opposite of the monetary stability that its sponsors advertise.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

Dec. 10: From Our Pages of 75 and 50 Years Ago

1906: Men, Women Compared

NEW YORK — Tests have been made at Columbia University to determine the comparative mental ability of men and women students. The investigations, which have extended over four years, show that women are superior in visual memory, in the rate of perception and the perception of pitch, while men are superior in the size of head, auditory memory, time of association, speed of movement and perception of size. The sexes were proved to be practically equal in perception of weight, in logical memory and in ability to endure fatigue. It was found that those who did best in psychological tests did best in their studies.

1931: Germany Suspends Papers

BERLIN — All Hitlerite and Communist papers have been suspended until Dec. 17 by a police order. This step has been taken in conformity with the terms of an emergency decree calling for cessation of agitation likely to disturb the public order. The extremist papers published violent attacks on the emergency decree in their last issues before the suspension order. Chancellor Brüning's speech is considered more important than the decree itself. The Socialist and Liberal press interpret it as a slam of the door between Brüning and Hitler, but the right-wing press denies it has shattered the possibility of Centrist and Hitlerite cooperation.

Questions for Haig; Some Answers

By James Reston

WASHINGTON — During his first year in office, Secretary of State Haig has been the object of intense curiosity, not only in Washington but in many other world capitals.

This started in the first days of the Reagan administration, when he sent a memorandum to the White House outlining the authority he thought he should have, under the president, over the formulation and administration of America's foreign policy. His requests were not unreasonable, but they were seen in the White House as excessive and were rejected.

When President Reagan was shot, Haig appeared in the White House press room and indicated that he was "in charge." Later, when the allied capitals were concerned with anti-nuclear protests, he told Congress that NATO had considered a "demonstration" nuclear explosion to warn the Russians against any invasion of Western Europe. Next, he complained publicly that there was some kind of a conspiracy in the administration to "get" him.

All this, plus his tendency to emphasize military answers to political questions, has led to speculation about his judgment and to veiled discussion about his health. When I asked to talk to him on the record about the last year and his vision of the next year, and suggested that these personal questions should be addressed, he agreed.

Question: I find this a disagreeable subject, but wherever I go, I'm asked about your health. It's a factor in the minds of many people and I think it ought to be laid to rest. The basis of the question is always the same, that is to say, that one day you seem to be serene; a week later you seem to be very tight and concerned about your position and your turf. And that always goes back to questions about your triple-bypass heart operation (on April 1, 1980). Not so much the operation itself but about what medication you may be taking.

Haig: I take none whatsoever.

I haven't taken any since three months after my operation ... It's absolute nonsense. That doesn't mean I can make any predictions about myself for the future. I don't have to tell you that that [rumor] was planted and fed and nourished.

Question: It wasn't planted on me. This is something that originated with me.

He would not talk about his relations with Richard Allen, the head of the National Security Council in the White House,

but he did talk about his

relations with the Soviet

Union. He said that he

was very close to the de

Toucheville thesis of

democratic society, namely

that the people of a democracy

are capable of unusual reactions

once events have brought them

beyond the bounds of rational

tolerance. The problem is how

you deal ... with the creation of

a consensus ... to avoid mis-

calculation. That was the process

that had begun in the wake of

Watergate and Vietnam — in my

view when we were, for a host

of domestic internal reasons, un-

able or unwilling to deal clearly

with affronts to our interests in

Africa, the Middle East, perhaps

even in Iran and Southeast Asia.

On reorganizing the State De-

partment next year Haig had lit-

tle to say, except to praise his

present team. But all these pre-

liminary questions, including

ones on his self-inflicted

wounds, which he admitted, and

his relations with the press, which

have not been excessively

happy, were not really the main

things on his mind.

He talked more about the play

of economics and unemploy-

ment in the free nations on for-

eign policy in the coming year,

and the agony of the poorer na-

tions — a quarter of the human

race now existing on the verge of

starvation, yet providing, as he

insisted, more trade for the

United States than Europe and

Japan combined.

But he agreed it was impor-

tant to get personal questions out

of the way before the policy

questions could be addressed.

This view on policy in the past

and coming year will be reported

here later.

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THE TIMES

WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 9 1981

A New Nuts-and-Bolts Editorial Team
Is Bent on Adding Profits to Prestige

By R.W. Apple Jr.

New York Times Service

LONDON — It is 5 p.m. at the rather shabby building on Gray's Inn Road, a mile north of Fleet Street, that houses this country's most prestigious but most consistently unprofitable newspaper, The Times.

In the editor's office, a slight, nervous, short-sleeved man, wearing a bow tie and a pair of gold-rimmed spectacles halfway down his nose, is bent over a mock-up of the next day's opinion page.

"I like that, do that," says Harold Evans excitedly to an assistant at his side. "Have you got a decent picture? No, not that, for God's sake! I'm not having that story in the paper. And we have to change that headline. Would this fit? 'What's It Like to Be 100 — More of It May Find Out' — one, two, three, four, five."

The spectacle of an editor in chief counting the units in a headline, to say nothing of choosing the main photograph for each day's front page, to say nothing of delivering a daily critique of each day's paper to his subordinates the next morning (having obviously read all eight of his competitors) has unsettled the troops at Gray's Inn Road. One of Mr. Evans' closest colleagues commented not long ago, "In 12 years, William Rees-Mogg never read the features page, let alone offered an opinion." Mr. Rees-Mogg, whom Mr. Evans replaced, thought deeply, wrote editorials and let the paper run itself.

"We used to go our own way," said a long-serving Times man whom Mr. Evans has made a senior editor. "Not with Harry. He would like to write every story, take every photo, edit every page, draft every letter, and it seems to me that he comes very close some days."

Murdoch Efforts

It is now nine months since Rupert Murdoch, the Australian press baron, took over The Times and its sister publications in an effort to make them profitable. The publisher, who owns the New York Post, two resolutely lowbrow papers in Britain and other newspapers in Australia and the United States, in addition, to Times Newspapers, promised to keep hands off the content of The Times, and by all accounts he has done so. But he also promised to make the group profitable, and in that, so far, he has notably failed.

[The Times quoted managing director Gerald Long last Saturday as saying that The Times lost \$8 million (about \$15.3 million) since July 1. The Associated Press reported.

[Answering questions from one of his own reporters on the future of Times Newspapers Ltd., Mr. Long said he knew of no plan or possibility of selling the papers. But he said he had had "quite a few conversations"

about the possibility of shutting them down if economics are not achieved.

[Mr. Long said that the financial situation was very worrying and that he hoped some action could be found to limit the losses. He said a report that the work force of 4,000 might be cut in half was "rubbish," the AP reported.]

In November, Mr. Murdoch reported that Times Newspapers was losing more than \$12.8 million a year. Not only The Times but also the formerly profitable Sunday Times, which Mr. Evans made into a strikingly successful mixture of seriousness and panache, is said to be deeply in the red.

A Dread Figure

Mr. Long, formerly of Reuters, has become a dread figure in the newsroom, decided as an accountant incapable of thinking like a newspaperman. In one episode that particularly rankled reporters' private telephone lines at The Sunday Times were cut off on a recent Saturday, a few hours before deadline, as a cost-cutting measure. But even Mr. Long's adversaries, even those who are uncomfortable with Mr. Evans' whirlwind style and those who left the paper rather than work for Mr. Murdoch, concede that there has been no effort to sensationalize the two newspapers.

Not that The Times looks or reads the way it used to. The typeface is the same and many of the reporters are the same, but there have been sweeping changes. Mr. Evans has pushed the classified advertisements off the back page, replacing them with news stories, a daily political passtime by Frank Johnson and a half-page digest of data called The Times Information Service.

In addition, Mr. Evans has emphasized the use of dramatic front-page photos, whether or not they relate to major news stories; has developed a weekend guide, published on Friday, called Preview; has published long, detailed articles about major issues, such as a groundbreaking piece by John Barry, formerly of The Sunday Times, listing in detail the weapons available to East and West in each European country; has instituted a daily editorial cartoon by Ranan R. Lurie; and, in general, has given the entire paper a brighter, less forbidding tone.

Knives Are Out

The editorials have changed, too. Mr. Evans would like them to remind people of the paper's onetime nickname, "The Thunderer." So the reader finds more firmly stated opinions and fewer noncommittal analyses, which dominated the columns in the recent past.

Although surveys show that The Times has a surprisingly young readership, with 65 percent of its readers under 44 years old, it has also been the bulletin board of the Es-

tablishment, and many prominent people who have read it for years are unhappy with Mr. Evans' innovations.

Other publications have also had their knives out. In an article in September that mocked the salaries Mr. Evans pays to his top editors and decided their previous careers, Harpers and Queen magazine concluded by calling The Times "a fallen lady whose heart has been plucked out by whiz-kids and replaced by a more up-to-date model." Private Eye, the satirical publication, has had a field day parodying the style of the Information Service and the other departures of Mr. Evans.

To these sorts of comments, the new editor has a crisp reply: "These people must be joking, or else they're the kind of people who confuse pomposity with seriousness — a common type in Britain."

A more damaging criticism is made by Anthony Sampson, the author of "Anatomy of Britain" and a sometime journalist. He said recently that he had noticed what he called "a disturbing number" of errors in The Times of late, most notably its flat assertion — hurriedly retracted the next day — that Tony Benn, the leader of the Labor Party's left wing, had concealed vast personal wealth through Bahamian trusts.

"I thoroughly approve of what Harry is trying to do with The Times," said Mr. Sampson. "It can only survive if it is made more readable and more wide-ranging. But it will lose its whole reason for being if it gets distracted and loses its reputation for accuracy."

Circulation Up

Mr. Evans' regime has succeeded in raising The Times' daily circulation from 272,000 in March to 303,000 in November, without the benefit of any extensive and expensive promotion campaign, but advertising has not improved nearly enough. And it is hard to see how it will as long as Britain is in the grip of a severe recession.

No one expects Mr. Murdoch to go on for long subsidizing losing newspapers; he wants the prestige of owning The Times and The Sunday Times, but not badly enough to tolerate the losses sustained over many years by the Thomson family, the previous owners.

"There will be blood on the floor before the future is settled," an insider commented. "It is possible that we will make it, but there are so many ifs. We can survive and prosper if the rest of the Murdoch organization makes enough money to give us breathing space, if the economy turns around, if Harry gets the editorial mix right, if we can win the manpower cuts in the negotiations with the unions." It is a formidable list of conditions, but Mr. Evans and Mr. Murdoch seem prepared to try harder than most Fleet Street bosses.

Former U.S. Intelligence Agents
Use Old Contacts for New Affairs

By Jeff Gerth

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Many former U.S. intelligence agents have entered into profitable business arrangements based on the extraordinary secret access to foreign officials and to sensitive information they gained in government service.

One former agent, for example, now represents an American company in an African country whose president he helped install in a covert operation backed by the CIA. Another obtained a \$300,000 consulting contract because of his close relationship with the king of an Arab country that stemmed from confidential government negotiations involving them both.

These and other examples were turned up through a review of records and interviews with dozens of officials and businessmen here and abroad.

Some U.S. diplomats say that the former agents can be a hindrance to U.S. foreign policy, and businessmen who compete with the former agents say that they have an unfair advantage.

Elaborate Deals

The activities of the former agents have been placed in the spotlight by disclosures that Edwin P. Wilson and Frank E. Terpil used their intelligence connections in elaborate and, in some cases, illegal foreign business deals. They have been indicted for illegally shipping explosives to Libya for use in training terrorists. Both men are fugitives living abroad.

Intelligence officials and government prosecutors say that they know of no other former agents who have committed such offenses. But for the first time, the CIA is addressing questions about conflict of interest and revolving-door employment in the intelligence business, issues usually associated with officials who trade on their experience in the military or government regulatory agencies.

The revolving door for covert intelligence agents is different from the one used by generals and lawyers, many officials say, because the former agents have had unusual and sometimes clandestine relationships with foreign leaders and access to sensitive intelligence information. Intelligence agents over the years have occasionally paid off foreign officials as a matter of course and have violated foreign laws. Some appear or pretend to have continuing connections with U.S. intelligence agencies after they leave the government.

Among the former agents who have used their foreign contacts and expertise for business purposes after leaving the government are these:

- Lawrence Raymond Devin, the former CIA station chief in Zaire. He covertly helped support President Mobutu Sese Seko's rise to power and then went to work in Zaire as the representative of an American metals company.

- Raymond H. Close, the former CIA station chief in Saudi Arabia. After official retirement in 1977, he went to work there, and his numerous business interests include partnerships with former Saudi officials.

- George C. Benson, the key military intelligence attaché in Indonesia for nine years and the American with the closest ties to the Indonesian generals who took power in a 1965 coup. He is the Washington representative for Indonesia's state-owned oil company.

- Vernon A. Walters, the former deputy director of central intelligence, now the Reagan administration's ambassador-at-large. He earned \$300,000 for consulting on a potential arms sale to Morocco before joining the administration.

Cited as Example

Former and current State Department officials who said that they were troubled by the foreign policy implications of retired intelligence agents' continuing to do business in foreign countries frequently cited Mr. Devin as an example.

For much of the 1960s, Mr. Devin was an official of the CIA, including service as station chief in the Congo, which later became Zaire. The Senate Intelligence Committee, in 1975, reported an aborted 1960 plot by the CIA to murder the Congo leader, Patrice Lumumba, and Lumumba was murdered in 1961.

In 1965, with the help of Mr. Devin and the CIA, Mr. Mobutu took office, according to former intelligence officials. The CIA's support for Mr. Mobutu included secret financial aid.

A former agent, John Stockwell, wrote in his book "In Search of Enemies" that Mr. Devin "shifted new governments like cards, finally settling on Mobutu as president."

After leaving the government in 1974, Mr. Devin became head of the Zaire office of Leon Tempelman & Son Inc., a New York-based metals and precious minerals company active in diamond and mineral exploration in Zaire. William A. Ullman, a vice president of the diamond company, said that the hiring of Mr. Devin, who had no experience in diamonds or metals, took into account his "excellent contacts" in Zaire.

Better Connections

Government officials said that Mr. Mobutu regarded Mr. Devin, even long after he left the government, as the representative of the United States. This gave Mr. Devin better connections in Zaire than the U.S. ambassador there, the officials said.

Mr. Stockwell said in his book that the CIA continued to use Mr. Devin in 1975, after he left the agency. A congressional aide said that the arrangement still exists.

Former and current State Department officials said that Mr. Devin's extraordinary access caused intelligence officials in Zaire to regard him as more important than embassy personnel.

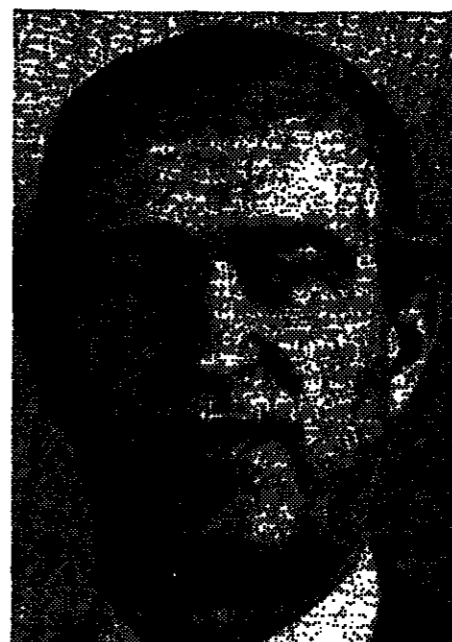
The officials said that the CIA was less interested than the State Department in reducing corruption in Zaire and at times, the agency bribed Zairians for information. Mr. Devin's strategic relationship with Mr. Mobutu helped, on occasion, to undercut U.S. foreign policy objectives, the diplomats said.

Mr. Devin's relationship, according to an American businessman who works in Zaire, also gives him and his company an unfair advantage over other businesses trying to operate in Zaire. His view was repeated by many others who do business in Third World countries.

Mr. Ullman said that Mr. Devin was in the United States recently, as was Mr. Mobutu, but Mr. Devin did not return repeated telephone calls.

In the case of Mr. Close, the onetime station chief in Saudi Arabia, former government officials say that his actions, while in the CIA and since retirement, are often clouded in mystery.

In the first place, some think that Mr. Close may still be working for the CIA in some ca-



Richard Helms



Vernon A. Walters

capacity, although he officially retired in 1977. They add that a further complicating factor is that some Saudis privately share the same perception.

In addition, Mr. Close, while station chief in the 1970s, delivered secret official messages to top Saudi leaders that, on at least one occasion, were at odds with communications delivered by the U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia, the officials said. Two former officials recalled an incident in the early 1970s when Mr. Close gave approval to top Saudi officials to sell arms to Pakistan at the same time that the U.S. ambassador was denying permission.

In one of his first business ventures after leaving the CIA, Mr. Close became a partner with Kamal Adham, who in early 1979 left his post as head of the Saudi intelligence service, according to Americans doing business in Saudi Arabia. Another Saudi business partner of Mr. Close is Issan Kabbani, another former Saudi official.

In the Front Door

Since 1978, a company in which Mr. Close and Mr. Kabbani are principals has been the Saudi Arabia representative for Cesco Chemicals International Inc., a Louisiana-based company that sells an oil field drilling lubricant, according to Cesco officials.

Raymond G. Matlock, who spends considerable time in Saudi Arabia as owner of Cesco

...for the first time, the CIA is addressing questions about conflict of interest and revolving-door employment in the intelligence business. The revolving door for covert intelligence agents is different from the one used by generals and lawyers, many officials say, because the former agents have had unusual and sometimes clandestine relationships with foreign leaders and access to sensitive intelligence information.

International, an affiliate of Cesco Chemicals, said that Mr. Close had been hired because he enabled Cesco officials "to get in the front door" with Saudi officials. Mr. Matlock said that because Mr. Close had "gained the respect" of many top Saudi officials "he can do things with them" beyond the role of a normal representative.

Cesco officials declined to divulge Mr. Close's compensation, but other Americans who do business in Saudi Arabia thought that his fees were quite lucrative. They cited, for example, Mr. Close's quotation to a U.S. company seeking a contract to manage an airport in Saudi Arabia: \$200,000 a year for 10 years to represent the company, plus an additional \$400,000 a year for the life of the contract should the company get the concession.

Several telephone calls were made to Mr. Close's listed number in Saudi Arabia, but no one answered the phone.

Continued Dealings

State Department officials cited two other examples, in addition to that of Mr. Close, in which the current business activities of former CIA station chiefs have raised concerns in diplomatic circles.

One case involves Daniel C. Arnold, the former chief in Thailand. After leaving the agency in 1979, officials said, he went to work representing companies seeking to do business there. U.S. officials involved in Thai affairs said that they were concerned about Mr. Arnold's continued dealings with top-level Thai officials. Mr. Arnold apparently lives in the Washington area, but he could not be located.

Another example involves Herbert W. Natzke, who retired in 1979 after serving as station chief in the Philippines. He went to work for Lucio Tan, a wealthy Philippine businessman involved in banking and trade, according to government officials.

State Department officials said that Mr. Natzke's affiliation with Mr. Tan was

perceived by the Filipinos as giving the Tan interests an indiscreet association with the United States. One result, they said, is that President Ferdinand E. Marcos thinks that the CIA wants to protect Tan interests.

Mr. Natzke recently moved from the Philippines to California to represent Tan interests. Repeated calls were made to a telephone listed in his name, but no one answered.

'Someone We Know'

Mr. Benson, the former military attaché in Indonesia, said in an interview that he was hired in 1973, after leaving the Army, to head the Washington office of Pertamina, Indonesia's state-owned oil company. He approached Gen. Ibnu Sutowo, then head of Pertamina. When he was hired, he said, Gen. Sutowo told him, "We need an office in Washington, we need someone we know well, we need someone who knows Washington."

In his more than nine years as an attaché in Indonesia, Mr. Benson became very close to the top Indonesian generals who, with covert U.S. support, took power in 1965. He also served as the Pentagon's expert on Indonesian affairs. When asked if he got his private job as a result of his government contacts, Mr. Benson said, "Absolutely, that's the only reason they hired me." He described his Indonesian dealings as proper.

Mr. Benson said that he registered as a foreign agent "four or five years ago" to be safe, since "it's sort of a gray area." Records on file with the Justice Department show that he registered as a foreign agent for Pertamina and an affiliate in December, 1980, and that an amended statement to "correct a deficiency" in the initial one was filed last July. Among the filings are a 1977 consulting contract with the Pertamina affiliate, and a 1980 letter showing Mr. Benson's pay of \$15,000 a month.

Attempts to Sell Arms

The private attempts of Mr. Walters, the former CIA director, to sell arms to Morocco came to light earlier this year when he filed a disclosure statement in conjunction with his nomination for his State Department post. John R. McLane, the president of Environmental Energy Systems Inc., the company that paid Mr. Walters \$300,000 for unsuccessful efforts to sell tanks to Morocco, said in an interview that the company hired Mr. Walters because of his access to important figures in Morocco.

One of Mr. Walters' last missions in the CIA was a trip in 1975 to Spain, where in meetings with King Hassan II of Morocco and Spanish officials he convinced Spain to give up control of Western Sahara, a Spanish colony in Africa long sought by Morocco, according to congressional sources.

When asked in 1979 by Africa News, an American newsletter on African affairs, about the secret 1975 talks, Mr. Walters reportedly declined to discuss the details, saying, "It would look like the king of Morocco and the king of Spain are pawns of the United States, and that wouldn't be in anybody's interest."

The State Department said that Mr. Walters was out of the country. He did not return telephone messages left with his office in Washington.

Richard Helms, another former director of the CIA, said in an interview that the issue of revolving-door activities on the part of retired agents had not been a problem during his tenure. He added that it was "against the American tradition" to place prohibitions on the private business practices of former intelligence officials.

Mr. Helms also contrasted what he called America's "ethic" about conflicts of interest with foreign mores, which he said hold "the more conflict, the better."

Mr. Helms now earns a living advising corporations about doing business overseas. The name of his company is Safer, the Persian word for ambassador.

Other intelligence officials say that it is unfair to single out the intelligence community since other former government employees, such as former ambassadors, also profit in private life from their government experiences.

Few Opportunities

The opportunities for public discussion of conflicts involving former intelligence agents are few. Since the identities of CIA agents, even after they retire, are not made public, it is often difficult to follow their entry into private life. Other former officials are subject to public scrutiny because their identities are not kept secret.

The revolving-door question, often an issue in discussions of the military-industrial complex, is governed by various federal statutes, including criminal laws enacted in 1962 and more stringent laws passed in 1978 under the Ethics in Government Act. The CIA guidelines on conflict of interest are identical to those in the 1978 act, CIA officials said.

The conflict of interest laws, in general, prohibit or limit former government employees from representing anyone trying to influence their former department or agency.

J. Jackson Walter, director of the Office of Government Ethics, said a lawyer in the CIA office of general counsel had told him that the agency had "never found a violation" of the ethics laws. But Mr. Walter said that the agency lawyer told him the agency gives "daily advice" to former agents on revolving-door regulations.

Le Monde

Fondateur : Hubert Beuve-Méry

Directeur : Jacques Fauvet

New Government, Internal Politics
Challenge the French Fourth Estate

By Richard Eder

New York Times Service

PARIS — If ever there was a newspaper for which the phrase Fourth Estate might have been designed, it is Le Monde. Stately it is, beyond question; and if its power is more spiritual than temporal — it spent years largely disapproving of Gaullism without much effect — it does color the political and intellectual weather. Often gray.

Le Monde does not really make or break a great deal, except in reporting on culture and ideas. The lower right-hand corner of the front page, devoted to books and the arts, picks out not so much what is good as what it considers bore structure — as against mere agreeable flesh — in contemporary French civilization.

For the rest — politics, diplomacy and social affairs — Le Monde's power is to grade rather than to shape. But grading is important in a country where the people at the top have worked so brutally hard at a formative age to earn a baccalauréat grade of 16, rather than 14, out of 20.

As with other French institutions under the Socialist government, Le Monde's bearings have become somewhat uncertain. The political change provided a challenge, shared in different ways by the entire French press. An old internal struggle has also flared up, raising questions about the newspaper's direction.

The internal fight, which (like a punch-up at a paragonage) has provoked gleeful fascination, began last year, in accordance with Le Monde's experiment in worker self-management. Claude Julien, who is to retire at the end of next year, Mr. Julien, who generally stands on the left, defeated Jacques Amalric, the foreign editor, a moderate.

Dispute Upstaged

But the victory of Mr. Julien, a toady, secretive man, hardly settled matters. The minority, including some of Le Monde's best-known writers, feared the imposition of one-sided political and personnel policies.

The national election and the Socialist victory upstaged Le Monde's own electoral disputes, but they blew up again when Mr. Fauvet tried to remove Mr. Amalric as for-

eign editor. The swing vote that had elected Mr. Julien came swinging back, and Mr. Fauvet was obliged to retreat.

After a rival newspaper published a list of changes that Mr. Julien reportedly planned, he and Mr. Fauvet called in Pierre Georges, a pro-Amalric reporter, and angrily accused him of leaking. Mr. Georges denied this with greater anger and a threat to sue for defamation.

The incident triggered widespread second thoughts and stormy staff meetings about Mr. Julien. The journalists censured their editor-elect and then, in effect, proceeded to un-elect him.

By a large majority, they required him to present a detailed policy and personnel program and to face a new vote next month, with 60 percent needed to confirm him. (He was originally elected by 62 percent.) But, journalists being what they are — constitutionally suspicious of editors even when they've elected them — defeat for Mr. Julien would be no guarantee of a majority for anyone else.

Sweeping Changes

The internal crisis comes as Le Monde and other news organs are struggling to cope with sweeping changes brought about by the coming to power of Francois Mitterrand's government.

The implications are not as great for the written press, which is privately owned, as for state-controlled radio and television. The new government replaced executives who had served under President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. To its credit and theirs, the change has largely been for the better. By and large, broadcast news and commentary now reflect a wider range of opinion, and government ministers and policies are treated with less reverence.

The written press, by and large, does not face this kind of pressure. When the government had the opportunity to control Le Point, a leading news weekly that tends to be critical, the nationalization process was deliberately watered down to keep the magazine in private hands.

Problems facing newspapers and newsweeklies are more a matter of their own commitments and journalistic practice. On the

right, Le Figaro simply carries on its opposition to the Socialists, but with greater ferocity. Its problem has been finding things to support. The main opposition to the Socialists, followers of Mr. Giscard d'Estaing and the neo-Gaullist Jacques Chirac, is disorganized and does not provide a great deal to write about.

Critical Support

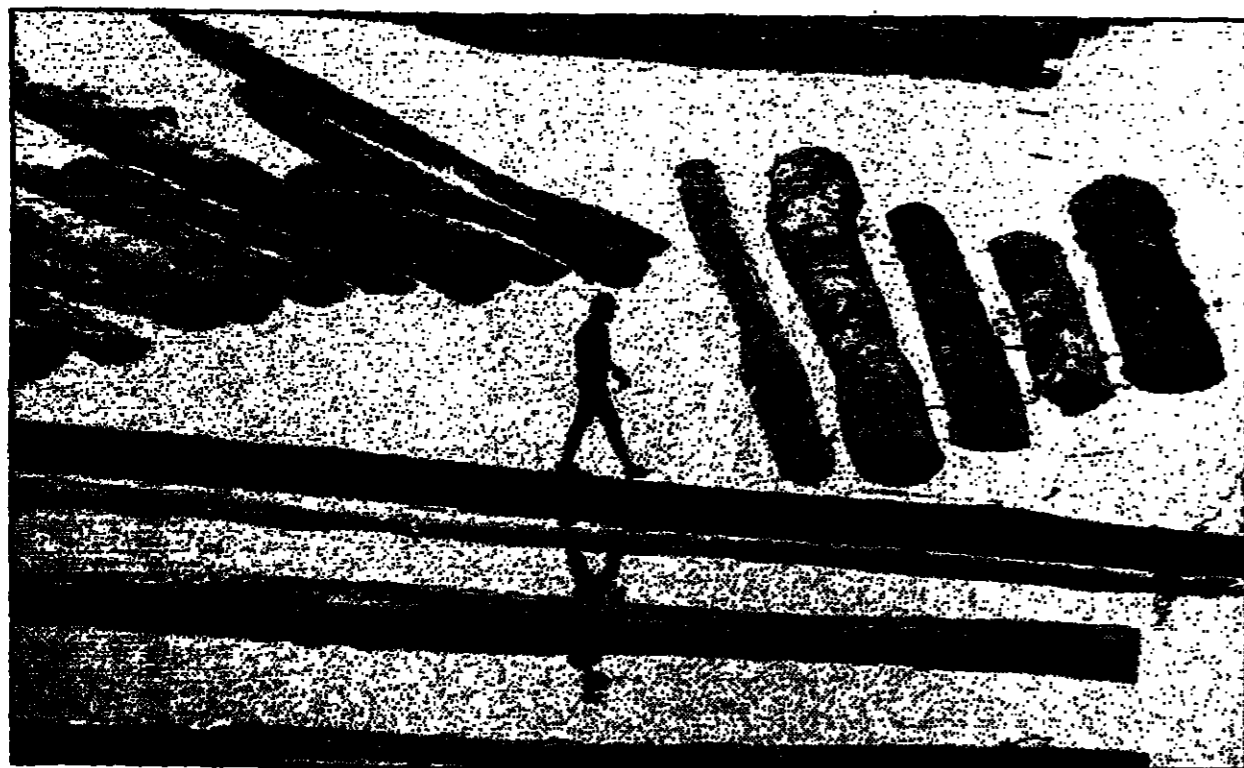
On the left, the situation is more complex. Le Monde, Le Matin, Le Nouvel Observateur and Le Canard Enchaîné have struggled with contradictory impulses. The professional impulse is to be critical of those in power, but the editors and writers tend to support the Socialists.

The concept of critical support had precious little exercise in recent decades. But — this may become an important change — the concept is beginning to emerge among papers of the left.

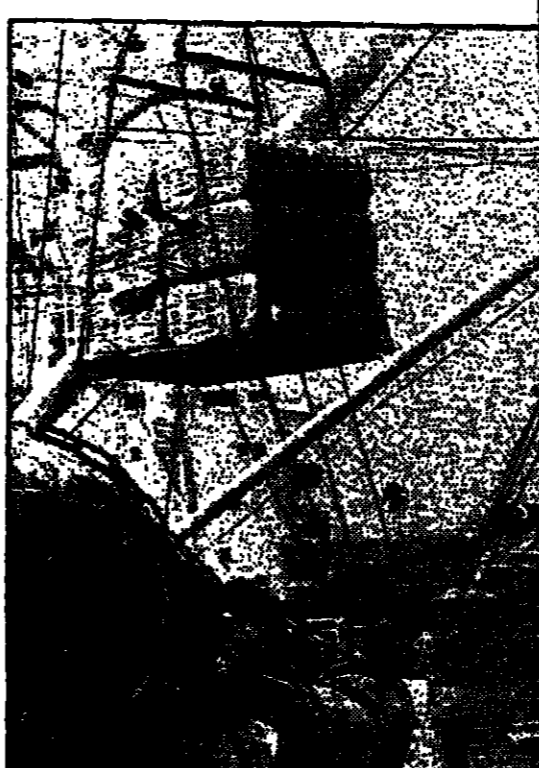
Le Monde, perhaps because of its internal difficulties, is making a relatively feeble stab at it. On economic questions it carries independent and critical analysis; it has had perceptive pieces about the state of the conservative opposition. It has not supported the government on everything, but its reporting on government decisions, foreign policy and the Socialist Party tends to be partisan or vague.

Le Matin and Le Nouvel Observateur, which immediately after the election took on propagandistic lines, later showed more independence. They maintain a Socialist commitment, but have hit the government hard on important points, keeping a critical eye on its tactics and strategy. Liberation, originally anarchic left and now somewhat more temperate, is regularly critical. Le Quotidien de Paris, moderate but independent under Mr. Giscard d'Estaing, now rakes muck with near-paranoid intensity.

As for Le Canard, after two or three weeks of having virtually nothing to say, it is back to being a gadfly, if not quite a scourge yet, of government. Its Page 2 regularly reports details of Socialist infighting and posturing, and it takes pride in the fact that Mr. Mitterrand has begun scolding associates for leaking to it



The timber trade: Logs are maneuvered in the port at Abidjan.



Cotton and logs are loaded at San Pedro.



Abidjan: Skyscrapers on the skyline, but not all are completed.

INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published with The New York Times and The Washington Post

DECEMBER, 1981

IVORY COAST

A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

Recession Is Eroding Economy

By Robert Hecht

ABIDJAN — A passenger at the Abidjan airport was recently approached by a shoe-shine boy offering his services, and when he declined, the 12-year-old started begging for small change. The passenger, surprised somewhat by the boy's behavior, asked why he was panhandling instead of polishing shoes for an honest living. "Business has been very bad lately," the youngster said earnestly. "The number of clients is down and prices are going up. It's a very difficult period, sir, for those of us who work for a living."

This anecdote illustrates the difficult situation that the Ivory Coast is facing as the country, one of the most prosperous in black Africa, enters the 1980s on a sour note of economic recession, rising inflation and unemployment.

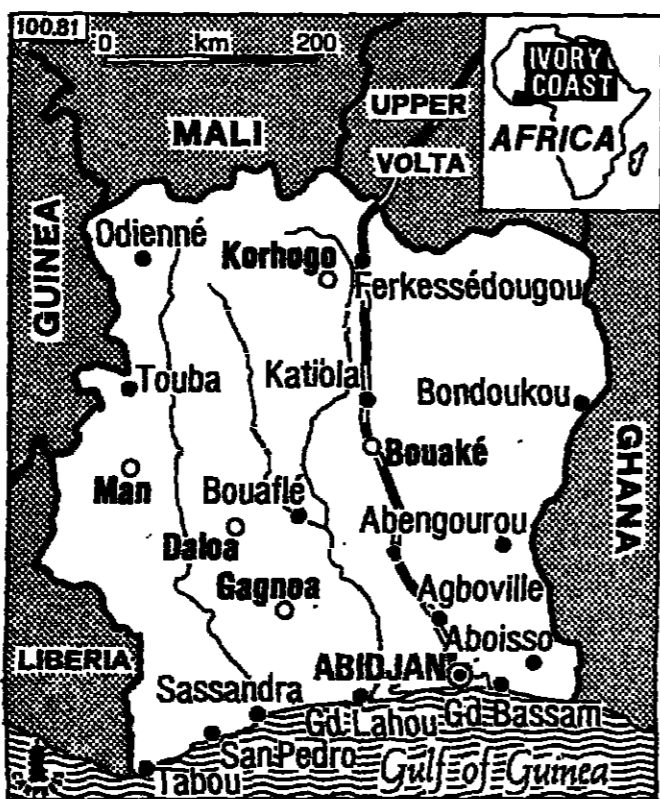
From government ministers and businessmen to street-hawkers and domestic servants, the recession — known here as *le conjoncture* — is hitting hard all segments of the population, plus the large foreign community of Europeans, Lebanese and Africans from neighboring countries.

Relief may be around the corner, however, with major discoveries of offshore oil during the last two years likely to boost the economy, and thus turn the sour note of 1981 into a sweeter tune before the end of the decade.

Cocoa, Coffee Downturn

The current slump was provoked by a combination of falling prices for cocoa and coffee, Ivory Coast's traditional exports, and by poor management of the public sector, which resulted in huge losses and mounting debts.

World prices for cocoa and coffee began their precipitous decline in 1978, and only bottomed out a few months ago. The Ivory Coast



increased its output of both commodities, especially cocoa — it is now the No. 1 producer worldwide — but this only made up for a fraction of the revenues lost due to falling prices.

Between 1976 and 1979, the country earned an average of \$1.2 billion a year from cocoa and coffee, half of which was taken by the state agricultural marketing board and used to finance public sector investment. With lower world prices for the two commodities, the marketing board's share has been drastically reduced, and in turn the public investment program has been trimmed back.

In the late 1970s, the government also borrowed heavily abroad to finance economic development, including major infrastructure projects such as roads, ports and hydroelectric dams, plus the activities of several dozen state enterprises designed to promote agricultural and industrial diversification.

This public sector investment

strategy eventually backfired, as Ivory Coast's foreign debt swelled rapidly to \$3.5 billion by the end of 1980. Repayment on foreign borrowing is expected to exceed \$1 billion this year, equal to about 30 percent of the country's export receipts.

The state enterprises for "new crops" such as oil palm and cotton, for regional economic development, and for low-cost housing and other services, also turned out to be a poor gamble. Most of them were dissolved in June, 1980, after accumulating losses of about \$320 million.

With lower export earnings and cutbacks in the public sector, demand within the economy has generally slackened, slowing the rate of economic growth. The economy, which expanded by nearly 10 percent a year in real terms in 1976 and 1977, is expected to grow by only 1 percent this year, failing to keep pace with a population growth rate of about 3 percent.

The construction industry has

been hit especially hard by the recession. Work on a half-dozen major government office buildings in Abidjan has slowed to a snail's pace, and although the exteriors of these skyscrapers will be completed, interior work may be delayed for years until additional funds become available.

The symptoms of the Ivory Coast's current economic malaise were already visible two or three years ago, but the momentum of public spending, plus what one economist in Abidjan called a devil-may-care attitude by some officials, prevented the government from adopting strong corrective measures. As a result, the recession has become severe, and the cure will take longer and be more unpalatable than it might have been 12 or 24 months earlier.

Serious government response to the Ivory Coast's economic dilemma began in June, 1980, with the widespread reform of state firms. It was decided that the state should not operate companies in certain domains that private citizens can handle, according to Mathieu Ekra, head of the ministry that was created to spearhead the reforms. Around a dozen public enterprises were axed, and another 25 reintegrated into existing government ministries, thus ending the financial autonomy.

Mr. Ekra's ministry was also charged with the gradual selling off to private parties of around \$75 million in government shares in local industrial concerns, which had been managed by a special state body called Sonafsi.

In the face of rising inflation, a \$500-million balance of payments deficit and a ballooning external debt, the government decided at the start of 1981 that it would curb public spending and tighten the money supply through domestic credit restrictions, even if this meant deepening the impending recession and causing additional unemployment.

The 1981 public sector investment program was slashed by about one-third, from \$1.25 billion in 1980 to only \$860 million this year.

The government also tried in January to introduce pay cuts for

(Continued on Page 115)

A Stable System Experiences an Evolution

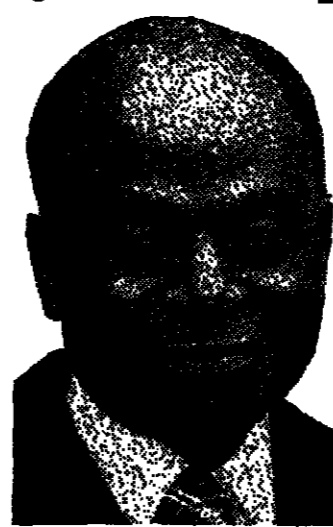
By Alex Rondos

THE IVORY COAST has a single-party political system headed by a president, Felix Houphouët-Boigny, whose position, if not omnipotent, is certainly one of rarely challenged authority. Mr. Houphouët-Boigny, 76, has been in power without formal opposition since before independence in 1960.

It is also a country where careful management of the exportable agricultural resources has permitted a relatively high level of income from them, and a country that has been exceptional in its liberal approach toward foreign investors. These general impressions have been largely undisturbed over the years and as a result many Western countries have tended to equate Ivory Coast politics with stability.

Yet the last two years have seen decisions concerning the political future of the Ivory Coast that were motivated, as President Houphouët-Boigny has acknowledged on frequent occasions, by evidence of a dangerous stagnation in the political system. If the system is to survive and the country continue with the basic economic policy that is so closely linked to the image it projects abroad, then measures will have to be adopted that are best symbolized by the Ivory Coast slogan of a "change in stability."

In late 1980, at the congress of the Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI), the country's only political party, the president was able to say with his characteristic brutal frankness that democracy in the Ivory Coast had become "de-



President Houphouët-Boigny

railed." The system of authority in the party was foundering, he said, and patronage had become the privilege of too many members of the elite. The barons, as the president called them, risked acting like barons.

What concerned him was that, at his age, his succession — which he does not like to have discussed in public — had to be seen in light of a political system that had gradually lost touch with much of the younger generation and that had seen too many of the older generation acquire wealth and privileges that risked making them an unsalable elite. Worse still was the prospect that this elite — which had become remarkably intertwined through financial, politi-

cal and, in some cases, marital ties — would soon start a relentless internal fight to secure the succession.

The president began a series of changes in the political system that reached their peak in the Seventh Party Congress of the PDCI in October, 1980. Since then, things have become quieter as the implementation of the decisions has come under close scrutiny.

As early as 1977, some of the most respected of the ministers in the government were abruptly fired. One of them, Henri Konan Bedie, has returned with hardly disguised political ambitions and is now president of the National Assembly, although the powers of that position have been pared. Corruption was one of the reasons given at the time for the dismissals.

In 1978, an attempt at municipal elections took place, under the guidance of the man then considered as the successor to Mr. Houphouët-Boigny, Philippe Yaco. They were poorly organized; there were charges of favoritism in the choice of candidates and even of rigging, and the president nullified the elections. They were not repeated until early this year.

Rumors in late 1979 of the president's ill health were met with a lengthy presidential speech announcing important but unspecified political reforms. Most of these were carried out at the Party Congress of October, 1980, but not before it was announced that the majority of state enterprises, the most severe victims of political patronage in the Ivory Coast, would either be abolished or come under much more severe ministerial control.

INSIDE

- The textile industry is hoping for a general turnaround that will improve its fortunes — Page 105.
- The port of Abidjan is engaged in a major expansion program — Page 115.
- As the oil begins to flow, optimism is on the rise — Page 125.

In anticipation of the congress, elections were held for the representation of the party sub-sections. There was a 55-percent change in personnel. The congress confirmed that all elections in the future would be free. This had a particular significance in the Ivory Coast.

The representative structure of the PDCI was not dissimilar to that of a number of East European political parties. Localities presented candidates who were approved at the regional and then national level of the party. There was a single list of candidates and the elections were primarily a formality. Many people believe that the strength of the system was that it suited the ethnic diversity of the country. The party has even been referred to as a confederation of tribes (of which there are about 70). By resolving problems of representation by discussion and compromise at the grass roots level, the issue of ethnic conflict at the national level was contained. It is (Continued on Page 105)

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Société à ABIDJAN - B.P. 1274 - Tél: 32-07-22.

BICICI

BANQUE INTERNATIONALE POUR LE COMMERCE ET L'INDUSTRIE
Siège social à ABIDJAN - B.P. 1298 - Tél: 32-08-79 - 32-03-79.

BIDI

BANQUE IVOIRIENNE DE DÉVELOPPEMENT INDUSTRIEL
Siège social à ABIDJAN - 15, avenue Joseph-Anoma - Tél: 32-01-11 - 01 B.P. 4470.

BICT

BANQUE IVOIRIENNE DE CONSTRUCTION ET DE TRAVAUX PUBLICS
Immeuble SETI - Boulevard Coteau - 01 B.P. 4004 - Tél: 32-71-14.

BND

BANQUE NATIONALE POUR LE DÉVELOPPEMENT AGRICOLE
Siège social à ABIDJAN - 16, avenue Joseph-Anoma - Tél: 32-07-57 - 01 B.P. 2508.

BNEC

BANQUE NATIONALE POUR L'ÉPARGNE ET LE CRÉDIT
Siège social à ABIDJAN - B.P. 9256 - 25, avenue Joseph-Anoma - Tél: 32-07-88.

CAA

CAISSE AUTONOME D'AMORTISSEMENT
Siège social: Immeuble SCIAM - ABIDJAN - B.P. 670 - Tél: 32-06-11.

CHASE MANHATTAN BANK

Immeuble BAD - Avenue Joseph-Anoma
01 B.P. 4107 ABIDJAN 01 - Tél: 32-10-41.

CCI

CRÉDIT DE LA CÔTE D'IVOIRE
Siège à ABIDJAN - 22, avenue Joseph-Anoma - Tél: 32-03-57.

CIFIM

COMPAGNIE IVOIRIENNE DE FINANCEMENT IMMOBILIER
01 B.P. 1720 - ABIDJAN - Avenue Joseph-Anoma - Tél: 32-59-08.

CITIBANK

FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK
Siège social: Immeuble AMCI - 8^e étage - 01 B.P. 3698 - Tél: 32-46-10.

COFINGI

COMPAGNIE FINANCIÈRE DE CÔTE D'IVOIRE
Siège social: Tour BICI - 15^e étage - 01 B.P. 1566 - Tél: 32-27-32.

EIFC

ÉTABLISSEMENT INTERNATIONAL DE FINANCEMENT ET DE CRÉDIT
Siège social: 14, avenue Dalafoa - 01 B.P. 1571 ABIDJAN - Tél: 32-80-63.

IAF

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Siège social: 40, avenue du Général-de-Gaulle - 01 B.P. 301 ABIDJAN - Tél: 32-82-39 - 32-55-33.

SAFBAIL

SOCIÉTÉ AFRICAINE DE CRÉDIT-BANQUE
USAGES VÉHICULES ET MATÉRIEL INDUSTRIEL
01 B.P. 4027 ABIDJAN - Tél: 36-91-77.

SAFCA

SOCIÉTÉ AFRICAINE DE CRÉDIT AUTOMOBILE
01 B.P. 4027 ABIDJAN - Tél: 36-91-77.

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SOCIÉTÉ GÉNÉRALE DE BANQUES EN CÔTE D'IVOIRE
5 et 7, avenue Joseph-Anoma - B.P. 1355 ABIDJAN - Tél: 32-03-33.

SIB

SOCIÉTÉ IVOIRIENNE DE BANQUE
Siège à ABIDJAN - B.P. 1300 - 34, boulevard de la République - Tél: 32-51-32.

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Boulevard Giscard-d'Estaing - Tél: 35-49-53.

SICAG

SOCIÉTÉ IVOIRIENNE DE CAUTIONNEMENT DE GARANTIE
54, rue du Docteur-Calmette, Zone 4 C - Tél: 35-41-29 - 35-43-61.

SIF

SOCIÉTÉ IVOIRIENNE DE FINANCEMENT - CRÉDIT MATÉRIEL INDUSTRIEL
B.P. 4027 - Tél: 36-91-77.

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SOCIÉTÉ GÉNÉRALE DE FINANCEMENT ET DE PARTICIPATIONS EN C.I.
7, avenue Joseph-Anoma - 01 B.P. 3526 ABIDJAN 01 - Tél: 32-03-53.

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7, avenue Joseph-Anoma - 01 B.P. 1355 ABIDJAN 01 - Tél: 32-03-33.

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... de banque

Small Farmer More Prosperous Than in Past

BRABORAY — Smoke rises slowly from a smoldering cooking fire into the hot, humid evening air, which hangs over the towering tropical forest like a damp cloth.

Emmanuel Gnakpa, with one of his wives and a young male cousin, are sitting on small wooden stools outside his house, sharing the main meal of the day: a thick paste made from pounded plantain bananas, eaten with a spicy sauce of palm oil, tomatoes, peppers and fish.

When he finishes the meal, he crosses the village to a neighbor's house, where he drinks a jug of sweet, slightly fermented palm wine and exchanges news of the day and yarns with his uncles, brothers and friends until late at night.

Like nearly all of his fellow Dida tribesmen and thousands of other rural dwellers in the Ivory Coast, he earns his livelihood by growing cocoa and coffee, the country's two main exports. It is chiefly because of these crops that the Ivory Coast has become the wealthiest non-oil producing nation in black Africa.

The government estimates that there are more than 400,000 small farmers raising cocoa and coffee in the southern forest zone where the wet climate is suited to these crops. The northern region, which produces maize, yams and cotton, lags behind the south economically.

Relative Prosperity

The 50 Dida households in the village of Braboray, 125 miles northwest of Abidjan, earn an average of \$2,000 a year from selling cocoa and coffee. This is considerably more than the cash incomes



A girl at market in Yamoussoukro. Things are better, but...

of rural dwellers in the neighboring countries of Liberia, Guinea, Mali, Upper Volta and Ghana.

Mr. Gnakpa and others in the village acknowledge this relative prosperity, and say that their economic situation has improved dur-

ing the 20 years since independence. But they complain that the government has made little effort to expand social services for them or to protect them from high rates of inflation during the last five years.

Faced with what they see as the twin evils of government neglect and inflation, the villagers openly question whether the rising living standards they have enjoyed since 1960 will continue into the 1980s. "Things are better now because our children can go to school and because we have lots of taxis to take us into town," he said. "But when the price of school uniforms keeps rising and taxi fares increase while our earnings don't change, how can you expect us not to complain?"

Simple Housing

Mr. Gnakpa's house, a simple one-story building made of mud, coated with cement including a corrugated tin roof, is typical at Braboray.

Several of the wealthiest farmers, like his uncle, the village chief, have larger cement block houses with rust-proof aluminum roofing. The poorest villagers make do with mud huts covered with a thatching of palm branches.

None of the houses in Braboray is outfitted with running water or electricity even though the government claims to have brought electricity to more than 500 rural villages in the last five years. A few exceptionally prosperous cocoa farmers in other communities have installed their own private electric generators.

The women of Braboray get water for their families each morning and afternoon from wells about a half-mile from the village, using large basins that they balance on their heads.

At night, kerosene lanterns are lighted to allow the schoolchildren to prepare their lessons for the

(Continued on Page 105)

Textiles Waiting for Turnaround

ABIDJAN — As is every other commercial activity in the Ivory Coast, the textile industry is hoping for large-scale oil discoveries and higher prices to cocoa and coffee producers to break the stalemate caused by soaring costs, tight credit and declining domestic purchasing power.

A 1975-1976 World Bank study on the Ivory Coast economy predicted that three large textile projects then being implemented could be expected to absorb 30,000 tons of locally grown fiber cotton by 1980, enough to satisfy 80 percent of domestic production needs.

But the three principal spinners and weavers have been able to absorb only 20,000 tons of the 59,000 tons of short-fiber Allen variety cotton grown in 1980. Because of the problems involved in the commercialization of finished textile products, the remaining raw cotton was exported.

The major textile establishments in the Ivory Coast are Ets. Gonfreville in Bouake, with 45 percent private and government Ivorian capital and the remainder French; Uti-Sotex in Dimbokro, with 20 percent Ivorian capital and the remainder Dutch and Japanese; and Cotivo-Ivori in Abidjan, with 30 percent Ivorian capital and the remainder mostly French.

"It is all a question of stagnating buying power during a period of inflation on a European level," said a foreign technical adviser at the Ministry of Industry and Plan-

ning. "At least three-quarters of textile production is for local consumption, and the small cocoa and coffee farmers still form the bulk of the money earners in this country. Although the government is intent on maintaining prices paid to producers at last year's higher levels, the cost of living keeps eating up even that support," he added.

Although Ets. Gonfreville began printing on imported cloth in the Ivory Coast in 1977, a local textile industry did not come into its own until the early 1970s when the government, under the 1975-1980 development plan, set up the CIDI (Compagnie Ivoirienne pour le Développement des Textiles) to promote cotton growing in the northern part of the country.

The young textile industry was to absorb most of the production and satisfy local demand for cotton yarn, printed cloth and finished goods through a policy of import substitution. Exports were geared principally toward West Africa because of the special nature of the market, where the main product consumed is the *pagne*, cotton fabric printed with striking motifs that has become synonymous with West African dress.

"The big enterprises are just about breaking even," the technical adviser said. "But since the industry is young, there are a lot of payments to make on machinery and installations, and credit is very tight. When you add a 36-percent increase in the cost of diesel fuel over the past year as well as a 13-

percent increase in transportation costs since December, you don't end up with much of a profit margin."

In order to finance extensive rural electrification programs, the government has established the highest electricity rates in West Africa. Textile manufacturing, especially the spinning process, is a big energy consumer.

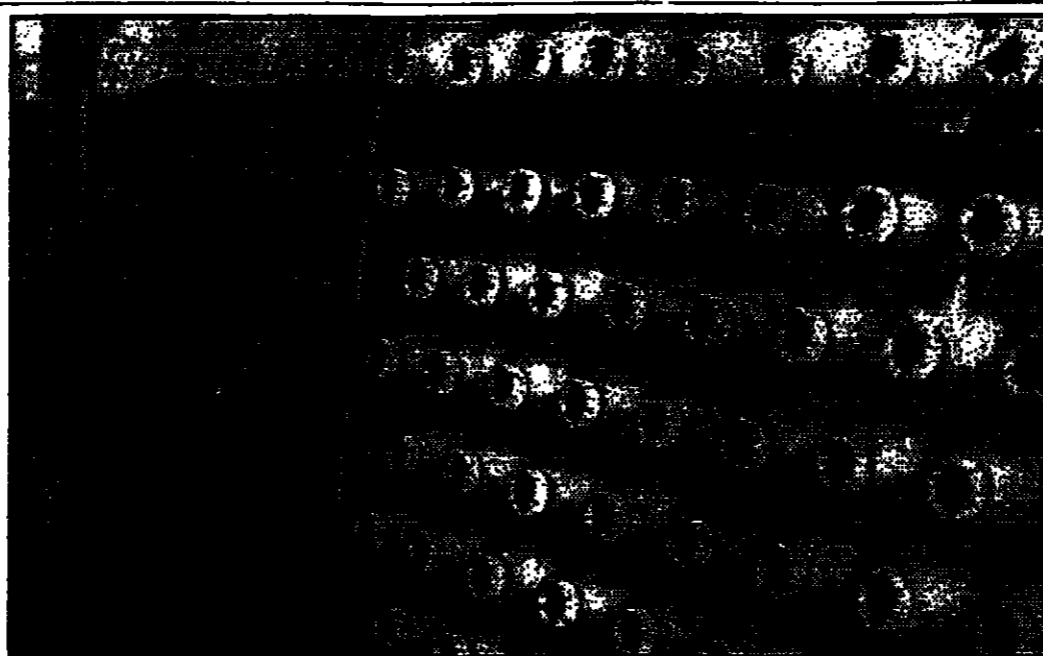
After declining somewhat in 1978, textile production rose slightly in 1979 and 1980. Total value of cotton yarn, woven and printed cottons, and small finished goods produced in 1980 was 74 billion CFA francs (for Communauté Financière Africaine) francs against 59 billion CFA francs in 1979.

It is no secret that African textiles are not very competitive with those produced in the Far East, partially because wages are higher in Africa but also because productivity here, the technical adviser said.

If textile production figures are relatively easy to come by, real export and import figures as well as those for domestic consumption are, in the words of a textile industry source, "anybody's guess."

Although the Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas) foresees the elimination of tariffs to promote trade among member states, at present all members impose fairly stiff duties on imported cloth to protect local industry.

Under the terms of the Lomé



On the job: A young worker at an Ivorian cotton factory.

convention, textiles produced in Africa are not subject to duty in member countries of the European Economic Community, but the reverse is not true. The result is an undetermined amount of cloth and finished goods that enters the country illegally.

In 1980, the Ivory Coast exported 13 billion CFA francs worth of yarn and cloth, 10 billion of which went to other countries in West Africa, principally Mali. But those familiar with what are called the informal export markets in West Africa say that the real importers of Ivory Coast textiles are probably Cameroon and Benin by way of Mali through Nigeria.

Payments Problems

West African countries often do not export to Nigeria because of payments problems involved with the Nigerian naira, which is not easily convertible, but independent traders with their own sources of currency exchange do a flourishing business across the traditional trade routes.

West Germany imported 2.2 billion CFA francs in denim cloth and jeans. Another 1.5 billion

CFA francs worth of gray cloth went to other EEC countries.

A textile industry source estimated that as much as 75 percent of the turnover in textiles in the Ivory Coast is made on smuggled goods — either from the Far East, through neighboring countries or from Europe.

Figures on profits from the sale of cloth and manufactured goods are nearly impossible to come by. The bulk of the wholesalers who congregate on Agnès street near the crowded market in the Adjame quarter are part of a tight coterie of Lebanese entrepreneurs along with a small number of Hausa and Dioula traders whose turnovers are closely guarded family secrets.

It is known that 9.5 million pieces of underwear and flat goods were produced in the recognized garment industry, which employs about 650 persons. But there are an estimated 15,000 to 14,000 tailors in Abidjan alone operating out of hole-in-the-wall shops with one or two apprentices. The only record of their existence is a flat monthly fee of 1,700 CFA francs collected by municipal authorities either per shop or per machine.

IVORY COAST

A Stable Political System Experiences an Evolution

(Continued from Page 95)

therefore argued that, in dramatically opening the way to highly competitive elections for representation in the National Assembly, the Pandora's box of tribalism in the Ivory Coast may have been opened.

In the subsequent national elections, there were major changes. Some politicians who for years had assumed that they were politically secure did not even bother to stand.

If the base of the party was opened to competition, however, the head of it experienced a drastic tightening up. President Houphouët-Boigny became chairman of the party, which gave him political and legal legitimacy in the role he had already effectively played. The political bureau of the party was reduced from 70 members to 35, and its new membership reflected the combination of novelty in youth and stability or continuity in the retention of some of the veterans of the FDCI.

The reshuffling of the Cabinet after the congress was intended, among other things, to remove the regional imbalance that had emerged with the party at its highest levels.

At the end of the congress, the president spoke about his succession. He repeated his previous prescription that there existed in the Ivory Coast a team spirit, and indeed a team that would ensure a smooth succession. But no sooner had he said that than he intro-

duced legislation abolishing the existing law that gave the constitutional right to succession in the event of the president's absence or incapacity to the president of the National Assembly. The position of vice president was created. Almost a year later that post has not been filled.

Where do these changes leave Ivorian politics? To the specialists, they have proved a fascinating exercise in reforming the dynamics of a single-party system. To a cer-

Whoever replaces Mr. Houphouët-Boigny will have a fearsome task.

tain extent, one of the disgraced *anciens* was achieved — namely, to show to the outside world that the Ivory Coast system has the capacity to rejuvenate itself in an atmosphere of stability. Any abrupt changes would shatter that image of stability.

Temporarily, the liberties of some of the more powerful politicians and their proteges have been restricted through the threat posed by free elections and the curbs imposed on the state sector of the economy.

The question of the succession remains open. There have been numerous rumors as to potential presidents on the grounds of tribal affiliation and association with the military establishment. Many names are mentioned, and the presidential practice in the past has been to exclude persons who begin to take encouraging rumors to heart and so campaign unofficially. It is widely believed that the dismissal of 1977 should be seen in this light.

Whoever replaces Mr. Houphouët-Boigny will have a fearsome task. Much of his prestige depends on qualities that are unique to him. His capacity for pre-empting or defusing political crises is legendary — he calls it dialogue. Discontented groups — of workers, journalists or students, for example — have often been summoned to the presidential palace to discuss their problems with the president. Each time, the president has emerged on top.

—ROBERT HECHT

Small Farmer More Prosperous

(Continued from Page 95)

next day. The only television in the village — part of a national program of educational television — is powered by a large alkaline battery.

The main export crops of cocoa and coffee are looked after by the men on farms averaging about 12 acres in size, hacked out of the dense forest using steel machetes.

When cocoa and coffee were introduced to Braboury in the 1930s, farm work was performed by young Dida men. Since the end of World War II, however, with the migration to the cities and the expansion of farms, more and more of this work is being done by laborers from Upper Volta and Mali. Ivory Coast's northern neighbors.

With the help of two day laborers, Mr. Gnaka harvested about 3,300 pounds of cocoa worth \$1,900 this year on his five-acre farm. His young coffee bushes, planted in 1977, yielded only a few dozen pounds of berries, which he turned over to his two wives, according to custom.

His wives raise all of the family's food crops of plantains, yams, cassava, taro, tomatoes and spices on small plots next to his cocoa farm. Once the food garden has been

force and nearly three-quarters of the owners of cocoa and coffee farms. More than a dozen West Africans, rich or poor, are represented in the village and both Christianity and Islam, plus traditional tribal religions, are practiced in this rural African melting pot.

Members of the Baule tribe, from the central savanna region of the Ivory Coast, have proven more successful cocoa farmers than the Dida — perhaps because their wives, reputed to be good entrepreneurs, manage to earn more money by selling food crops.

This immigration has been a major factor in the rapid increase in the Ivory Coast's cocoa production, from 100,000 tons in 1960 to around 390,000 tons last year, but it has also led to conflicts over land between the natives and the newcomers.

Many of the Dida in Braboury resent the presence of an immigrant majority. "They have taken so much of our land that there is nothing left for our children," Mr. Gnaka said. "My only hope now is that they do well enough in school to find good jobs in town."

The land shortage is now provoking an exodus of young men and women from Braboury to the nearby town of Divo, to Abidjan, and to the still largely untouched forest areas of the southwestern corner of Ivory Coast.

Rural Health Care

On top of this land crisis, the villagers say that the government has done little to give them basic social amenities such as wells and electricity. They argue that the state marketing board makes a big profit by paying them less than the world price for cocoa and coffee, yet reinvests only a tiny amount of this profit in the villages.

The villagers in Braboury had to pay for their six-room elementary school and for the teachers' houses, while the government simply financed the teachers' salaries.

Like most villages in the southern Ivory Coast, Braboury has no health care facilities and, since the closest dispensary is often short of medicines, Mr. Gnaka and his family have to travel to Divo for medical treatment. Malaria, hepatitis and infantile measles are common diseases.

Farmers also complain that the government discriminates against them in awarding cheap agricultural credit to wealthy absentee landowners growing pineapples, bananas and oil palms. "The agricultural development bank asks us to fill out a dozen forms we can barely understand, and then they require a property title, which we small farmers don't hold, as a loan guarantee," Mr. Gnaka said. "It's easy to see why we get discouraged and why all of the money goes to the civil servants and big politicians."

Inflation Menace

Inflation, which has been running at about 20 percent a year since 1977, is the other menace facing the farmers. During the same period, official prices for cocoa and coffee have been raised only once.

The villagers at Braboury, who are now specialized farmers and must buy a large part of their food and other goods on the market, have seen their real earnings steadily eroded by this inflation.

Despite these economic problems, they still speak with awe about Félix Houphouët-Boigny, Ivory Coast's only president and the leader of the movement for independence from France, who has become an almost mythical figure, seen by most Ivory Coasters as standing far above the day-to-day business of the government.

But the villagers are more cynical about government ministers and other top civil servants, whom

they often see as corrupt and opportunistic politicians using their positions to gain material privileges.

It is said in the Ivory Coast that these elite government officials "pass by the back corridor" to gain special benefits, while ordinary people have to line up at the front door.

"This is the way things work in Ivory Coast," Mr. Gnaka said. "Maybe it is the price we have to pay for our capitalist policies. But for us little farmers, all we can hope is that the government will raise the price for our cocoa and coffee."

—ROBERT HECHT



IN ABIDJAN THE MOST DEMANDING TRAVELLER STAYS WITH US

En Afrique, en Amérique et dans le monde entier on peut trouver des palaces extraordinaires, des hôtels de grand luxe, des complexes touristiques de premier ordre, des restaurants gastronomiques, des boutiques, des cinémas, des night-clubs, des casinos. Mais nulle part vous ne trouverez tous ces plaisirs réunis en un seul complexe, excepté dans le village Ivoire.

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Activity Is Rising At Ports

ABIDJAN — The port at Abidjan, the largest in West Africa, is engaged in an ambitious program to expand its facilities for handling containerized freight, which is fast becoming the most popular form of shipping.

The first section of the new container terminal, located at the southern tip of the port next to the Vridi Canal leading to the Atlantic, was opened to business last year.

When the rest of the terminal is completed in 1983 (it was started in 1977), it will be equipped to handle 4 million tons of containerized freight a year. The facility will have three unloading berths served by two onshore cranes and will include a roll-on, roll-off platform, which permits trucks to load up the containers directly on board their ship.

The new container terminal will also have 800 meters of quayside and around 50 acres of paved storage space adjacent to the wharf. Total investment in the terminal of \$29 million is being financed entirely from resources of the Abidjan Port Authority without assistance from the Ivory Coast government. The port has been financially independent since 1972.

Overflow of Containers

The rapid growth of containerized shipping, in which merchandise is moved on sealed metal boxes to road and rail transport, poses the most difficult and pressing problem for freight handling in the Abidjan port.

The amount of containerized freight has risen from 250,000 tons in 1974 to more than 1 million tons last year. Containers now account for around 15 percent of merchandise handled in Abidjan, against only 4 percent seven years ago. To cope with the container traffic, an existing berth was originally converted to handle the load, but it failed to keep pace with the increase in traffic.

Containers are currently being unloaded in an ad hoc way all along the three great wharfs and 36 berths that make up the heart of the port. The brightly painted metal boxes, in red, orange, and blue, can be seen stacked along the quayside wherever there is spare room to store the containers before they are picked up by trucks.

The container terminal under construction will unify this chaotic unloading activity, in order to avoid delays and damage to the merchandise.

One reason for the upsurge in the movement of containers is that the port has become an important point of transshipment for merchandise destined for Ivory Coast's landlocked neighbors, Up-



A new container terminal is being constructed at the port at Abidjan.

per Volta and Mali. The two countries take nearly half of the containerized freight landed in Abidjan.

Merchandise heading for Bamako, the capital of Mali, travels the 600-mile distance by road. Long lines of trucks can be seen regularly at the Abidjan port, waiting for loading before they set off for Mali.

Most of the transshipped freight for Upper Volta is handled by the 750-mile-long railroad linking Abidjan to the main Voltaic towns of Ouagadougou, Koudougou and Bobo-Dioulasso.

The containerized merchandise is looked after by five shipping firms, including four private companies and the state-owned Sivo, which accounts for about 15 percent of the traffic.

General Saturation

With the steady growth of the Ivorian economy during the last two decades, the port's investment program has had trouble keeping up with the increase in traffic, and nearly all of the port facilities are currently saturated.

The 25 general merchandise berths, which normally have a maximum capacity of 150,000 tons per year, had to handle an average of 165,000 tons of freight in 1980. Overall, traffic at the port has increased from 1.8 million tons in 1960, at the time of independence, to 9.4 million tons last year, making Abidjan the largest port in West Africa, ahead of Dakar, Lagos and Yaounde. Abidjan handles 86 percent of the Ivory Coast's international merchandise.

Construction of the port along the shores of the Ebré Lagoon began in 1950, when the two-mile-long Vridi Canal, one of the most ambitious engineering projects of the French colonial era, was opened.

The canal was redredged in 1978 to a depth of 45 feet to facilitate the passage of all ships except major petroleum supertankers. The tankers unload their crude oil at an

offshore terminal, linked to the SIR refinery by a 3.3-mile pipeline.

In addition to the general merchandise berths, the port is outfitted with 11 specialized berths for loading cement and clinker, refined petroleum products, fertilizer, and other commodities.

A 1,200-foot-long fresh fruit dock, at the northern end of the harbor in the Banco Bay, expedites all of the Ivory Coast's banana exports, currently running at about 120,000 tons a year, and a part of the 100,000 tons of fresh pineapple exported annually. The Ivory Coast is the leading producer of bananas and pineapples in Africa.

The timber port, also in the Banco Bay, has 17 offshore berths for handling the country's third-most important export after cocoa and coffee. Logs stored in the port are winched out into the water where tugboats haul them to ships waiting at the offshore berths.

Abidjan is a major fishing port on the West Africa coast, unloading about 200,000 tons of fish a year. Fish is the main source of animal protein in the southern part of the Ivory Coast.

The fishing port includes several freezing plants and a U.S.-owned shrimp processing factory, plus a large wholesale and retail market next to the docks. Most of the Abidjan restaurants, plus a considerable number of household consumers, buy their seafood at the market. The most sought-after fish is the large Southern Atlantic crayfish, or *langouste*.

Nationalized Shipping

During the last few years, the Ivory Coast has been vigorously pursuing a policy of trying to increase its share of shipping in and out of the country. Merchant Marine Minister Lamine Fadia wants to see the Ivory Coast implement the so-called 40-40-20 formula for ocean transport passed by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), in which two countries

trading with each other each handle 40 percent of the merchandise, with the remaining 20 percent for third parties.

The Ivory Coast's three shipping firms currently control only one-fifth of the country's merchandise traffic, but their share is increasing.

Sitram, the state-owned shipping company, now handles more than 10 percent of the traffic at the Abidjan port. The company purchased eight new 16,000-ton multi-purpose ships in 1978, and is expected to play an increasingly important role in Ivorian shipping as these freighters enter into service.

Long-Range Plans

In order to decentralize the Ivory Coast's maritime activities and to relieve the mounting congestion in Abidjan, a second port was opened in 1972 at San Pedro, 190 miles west of the capital. San Pedro handled about 1.5 million tons of traffic last year, almost all of it timber exports from the forests of the southwestern region.

Planned construction of a cement factory and a flour mill at the port may help to boost imports at San Pedro, which are almost nonexistent at present.

Long-range plans for the Abidjan port are for the construction of a \$300-million extension at Loco-diro, across the harbor from the existing port. The extension is to include more than 3,000 feet of quayside, plus new terminals for clinker and containers, a heavy-cargo berth, and a sugar loading post.

The Loco-diro project was scheduled to get under way in early 1981, but the general economic slowdown that has hit the Ivory Coast this year led to delays in the port expansion scheme. Abidjan port authorities say they still expect Loco-diro to be built during the coming decade, especially if newly discovered offshore oil deposits prove to be commercially exploitable.

— ROBERT HECHT

Recession Is Eroding a Dynamic Economy

(Continued from Page 95)

civil servants as one part of the austerity drive, but later backed down when employees of several white-collar agencies, including the marketing board and the national shipping firm, threatened to go on strike.

The International Monetary Fund in February unveiled a \$600-million, three-year economic stabilization credit for the Ivory Coast, under the Extended Fund Facility. Likewise, the World Bank announced that it would make a special \$100-million structural adjustment loan to the government.

The IMF-World Bank package has a series of economic performance criteria that the Ivory Coast is supposed to meet, including limits on commercial borrowing, pay freezes for civil servants, a more stringent review of state projects, budget cuts, and higher prices for electricity, water, gasoline, public transport, rice, fertilizer and other basic consumer goods, many of which have been heavily subsidized.

It is still uncertain whether the government will actually adhere to the conditions laid down by the IMF. A new interministerial Committee on Financial Coordination and Investment Control was set up in March to monitor the austerity program, but earlier recommenda-

tions by the Monetary Fund to the Ivorian government went unheeded, so effective application of the most recent measures is far from assured.

The main reason for the generosity of the international financial institutions toward the Ivory Coast — other than its strongly pro-Western and pro-capitalist stance — is the bright prospect of oil on the country's economic horizon.

The likelihood that Ivory Coast will be self-sufficient in oil by 1983, and will become a net exporter after that, has prompted even the private banks, led by Chase Manhattan of the United States, to put together an unusual \$250-million balance of payments loan.

Production on the smaller offshore Belier oil field should be around 400,000 tons this year, equal to only about one-quarter of the Ivory Coast's needs. But with the start-up of the much larger Esopo field in mid-1982, the coun-

try should rapidly attain self-sufficiency.

The government has conservatively projected output of 5 million tons a year by 1990, but foreign financial backers have put the figure at 20 million tons.

The Ivory Coast's 1981-1985 Five Year Plan, which is currently being prepared, budgets \$8.7 billion in new investment during the five-year period, with two-thirds of the total coming from the government, and the remaining \$2.9 billion contributed by the private sector.

The plan was assembled using minimum projections on oil production. If the Ivory Coast reaps a larger petroleum harvest during the plan period, investment targets will be raised considerably to utilize the additional revenues.

In line with the government's new policy of avoiding state involvement in directly productive activities whenever possible, the plan calls on private investors to

lay out the capital for agricultural and industrial projects such as a paper and pulp mill, petrochemicals, and iron mining in the southwestern part of the country.

The government intends to follow the more limited economic role of financing infrastructure and social projects such as schools, hospitals and housing.

In the meantime, the Ivory Coast is in for a rough economic ride, especially in a country that has had unbroken economic growth during the last 20 years — a rare feat in Africa — and where expectations are therefore unusually high.

Unemployment will undoubtedly hit hardest the 2 million Africans from neighboring countries working in the Ivory Coast, who occupy the lowest-paid jobs and are the first to be laid off. Despite their menial and insecure economic position, most of the African foreigners seem determined to stay in the Ivory Coast, perhaps because conditions in their own countries are even worse.

"Gas is more expensive here than in Dakar, and so is my rent," said a Senegalese taxi driver who has lived in Abidjan for the last two years. "But there is a lot of money floating around here, with everyone scrambling to get it, while Dakar is dry — there's no money."

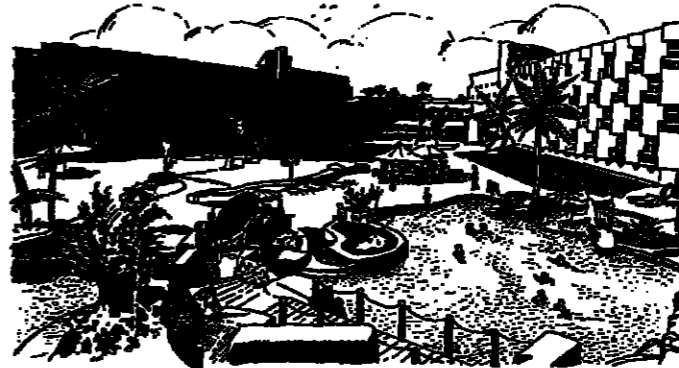
ROBERT HECHT is a rural development specialist and a frequent contributor to the IHT's special supplements. He recently completed his doctoral dissertation on the Ivory Coast at Cambridge University.

ALEX RONDOS is on the staff of London-based West Africa magazine.

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OIL STIMULATES AGRICULTURE

Three points to remember about oil in the Ivory Coast:

- The President solemnly announced its discovery in 1977,
- extraction began in 1980,
- by 1983, the Ivory Coast will be self-sufficient,
- thereafter, the Ivory Coast will be a net exporter of oil.

Three possibilities that President Houphouët-Boigny wants to avoid for his country:

- the breakdown of an agro-based economy when half the world is hungry,
 - a sudden rural exodus to towns that are ill prepared to deal with such a problem,
 - too great a disparity in income between the vast majority of the rural peasantry and the town dweller.
- He has therefore decreed that the profits that the Ivory Coast will make from oil will be ploughed back into agricultural projects.

Oil is already an Ivorian industry:

La Société Ivoirienne de Raffinage has been operating since 1965. Its initial annual capacity of 700,000 tonnes refined, increased to 2 million in 1976 and to over 4 million in 1980.

The Republics of Mali, Upper Volta, Niger and Benin are all supplied from this refinery which is the biggest in French-speaking Africa.

Oil is also processed in two lubricating-oil plants and one bitumen factory.

Ivory Coast industry is also:

- a well-organised agricultural and food-producing sector which is developed from using the country's natural riches,
- a textile sector that has already beaten its target: 55,000 tons of cotton fibre against 42,000 tons targeted in the plan,
- long experience of the timber industry,
- good opportunities in the chemical sector, above all in insecticides, and soon in the tyre industry,
- clinker production, car assembly and the local assembly of electrical goods completes some of the list.

Demand for Palm Oil Increasing at Home and Abroad

ABIDJAN — With the processing of the Ivory Coast's agricultural raw materials figuring as a key component in the recent expansion of the country's industrial sector, the oil palm giant Blohorn has been one of the steadiest and most resilient of the Ivorian agro-industries.

The Ivory Coast's industrial development strategy during the last two decades, following independence from France in 1960, has had three main features: the substitution of imports with locally manufactured consumer goods such as shoes, cloth and cigarettes; the creation of industries oriented toward export, for example, of textiles to the European Economic Community and refined petroleum products to neighboring Upper Volta and Mali; and the promotion of agro-processing, in which locally available raw materials could be directly linked to Ivorian industrial expansion.

This strategy has enabled the Ivory Coast to make impressive gains during the last 20 years. Including both manufacturing and public utilities, output has grown by an average annual rate of about 15 percent, and the number of industrial firms has increased from 50 in 1960 to more than 600 last year. The industrial sector's share of gross domestic product has risen from 15 percent to 25 percent during the same period.

Agro-processing has had the most variable fortunes of the three branches of Ivorian industry during the last five years. On the positive side, both the state and private investors set up plants to handle the country's large output of coffee and timber and its rapidly growing production of cotton and natural rubber.

Several other firmly established agro-industries, including the state-owned producer of crude palm oil, Palmindustrial, and the country's three pineapple canning factories, ran into serious financial difficulties because of poor management and a lack of international competitiveness. The government had to intervene with subsidies and management reforms to try to save these industries.

Blohorn has continued to grow and to show a hefty profit. In 1980, its turnover reached \$96.7 million, making it the third-largest industrial firm in the Ivory Coast, behind the

Sir Petroleum refinery and the state-controlled electricity company.

Joseph Blohorn, a French soapmaker from Marseilles and the father of the current chairman of the company, built the first Ivorian soap factory to process local palm oil in 1929, in what is today the fashionable Cocody quarter of Abidjan. Longtime residents claim that the foul smell that still hangs over the saltwater lagoon next to the quarter comes from the chemical effluent that the Blohorn factory dumped into the water for more than 40 years.

Although the company had its start during the French colonial era, it was not until after independence, with the rapid growth of consumer spending in Abidjan and in the southern cocoa and coffee zone, and the launching of a state-sponsored oil palm program, that Blohorn became a major concern.

The plant was moved in 1971 from Cocody to its present site in the Vridi industrial zone adjacent to the Abidjan port, and in August, 1980, the inauguration of a 70,000-ton palm oil refining facility brought total installed capacity to 180,000 tons of oil a year.

The company processes about 100,000 tons of crude palm oil annually, or about two-thirds of the Ivory Coast's output of industrial palm oil.

Palmindustrial, the financially troubled state enterprise that manages 12 huge plantations in the southern part of the country, supplies Blohorn with about 95 percent of its crude oil. The rest comes from two smaller plantations, covering 8,200 acres and located about 50 miles west of Abidjan, that are owned by the Blohorn group.

With the rapid growth in the Ivory Coast in urban demand for table oil, refined palm oil has replaced soap as Blohorn's main product. In 1980, the company sold more than 60,000 tons of oil worth \$60 million, against 32,000 tons of soap with a value of \$31.3 million.

Palm derivatives, whether extracted from the hard red fruit of the oil palm tree or its inner kernel, using industrial methods or the traditional village techniques of boiling and pounding by hand, are the main cooking oils of the West African coastal zone.

With palm oil output in most other West African countries falling to keep pace with demand, the Ivory Coast has found major export markets next door, and now ranks as the third-leading palm oil exporter, behind Malaysia and Indonesia.

In 1980, Blohorn exported about one-fifth of its refined palm oil, mainly to Guinea, Ghana, Liberia and Togo. The company's potential foreign market is limited to the tropics, however, because palm oil solidifies in temperate zones where the temperature falls below 68 degrees.

Director General Paul Bonnel said that, with the introduction of more relaxed customs rules by member countries of the Economic Community of West African States (Ecowas), Blohorn hoped to tap Nigeria's market of more than 80 million consumers.

In addition to refined cooking oil and soap, made by mixing palm oil with caustic soda, Blohorn manufactures palm oil byproducts, including glycerol, fatty acids, silicates, and margarine.

The greatest threat to Blohorn's operations comes from Palmindustrial's unreliable performance during the last few years in delivering crude palm oil. In 1981, Palmindustrial is expected to produce only 130,000 tons of oil, far less than the 180,000 tons forecast last year.

The shortfall was apparently caused by poor weather conditions, but there are also reports that management and financial problems had led to the temporary closure of two of Palmindustrial's 12 oil extraction plants.

Like most manufacturing activity in the Ivory Coast, Blohorn is controlled financially by foreign interests. Mr. Bonnel said that about 80 percent of the company's capital was in French hands, mainly the Blohorn family, with 20 percent held by more than 2,500 Ivory Coastians. Overall, about 55 percent of Ivory Coast industry, including utilities, is owned by foreign interests. Three-quarters of the remaining share capital is held by the government, with private nationals accounting for only about 13 percent of the total.

—ROBERT HECHT

Big Hopes Pinned on Oil Output

ABIDJAN — On a clear day, sunbathers on the beach at Grand Bassam, 20 miles east of Abidjan, can see the outlines of a huge oil production platform on the maritime horizon. Its derrick rises straight up from the deck of the platform like a ship's mast, and a bright orange flame is visible at the end of a long pipe extended sideways, where natural gas is flared off.

The platform is on top of the Belier oil field where the Ivory Coast's first offshore petroleum production started up last year. Output from the Belier is a modest 10,000 barrels a day, covering just a fraction of the Ivory coast's own oil needs. But with a second, more important offshore field about to enter production and with the pace of exploration picking up rapidly, economic prognosticators in Abidjan say that by the mid-1980s the Ivory Coast will become one of the major oil producers in Africa.

And if all that glitters beneath the Ivory Coast's Atlantic shelf does turn out to be black gold, oil will end up transforming the country's economy, which has relied on farming for its relatively affluent status compared to neighboring states.

"Oil has become today what armies were in the old days," said Paul Shaner, head of Phillips Petroleum in the Ivory coast, where the U.S. company appears to be on the verge of a major find. "Oil is now a weapon, which can change the whole shape of a nation."

Facts and Rumors

A mixture of fact and rumor abounds here concerning the oil prospects. Everyone from foreign diplomats and local civil servants to taxi drivers and market vendors bandies about the wildest and most varied reports on the size of the country's offshore reserves, and on the rate at which the oil is going to be lifted out of the seabed. Even the faintest smell of instant and everlasting riches.

The government and the major oil companies operating in the Ivory Coast are intensely secretive about the dimension of the oil endowment, which tends to encourage further the rumor-mongering.

"A country becomes feverish anytime you find oil these days, and Ivory Coast is no exception," Mr. Shaner said. Phillips Petroleum is located in the center of the oil fever, as the principal operator in the Espoir field, on which the Ivory Coast is pinning its future hopes.

The field is offshore from the town of Jacqueville, a few miles west of Abidjan, in a 1,000-square-kilometer exploration zone. Part-

IVORY COAST

nners in the zone include Phillips, the principal shareholder, Italy's Agip, a U.S. drilling company called Sedco, and the Ivory Coast national oil firm, Petroci.

The Espoir field was discovered in 1979, and the first wells tested yielded about 10,000 barrels a day — a very encouraging sign in the oil business.

Phillips currently has four drilling crews, including two semi-submersible rigs and two boats, working in the area of the original find to delimit the boundaries of the field. By the end of this year, at least seven more wells will be drilled and tested in the Espoir.

Large Deposit

Even though company officials say that it is still too early to estimate oil reserves at Espoir, Phillips has already made moves to set up a temporary production system in the field. A jack-up platform, which can be towed into place by boat and then anchored to the ocean floor, is being built in Japan, and will be transported to the Ivory Coast by the end of the year.

Early production at Espoir will come from four or more wells drilled in about 1,200 feet of water, too deep for even the most sophisticated offshore oil platforms. Phillips will have to run a series of pipelines from the deep wells into a shallower area closer to shore, where the platform will be positioned.

A short distance away, at a floating terminal, tankers will load up with crude oil. Unlike the smaller Belier field, which siphons its oil through a pipeline to the Vridi refinery in Abidjan, the temporary production system at Espoir will not have facilities for feeding oil directly ashore.

Phillips officials are loathe to pin an exact figure on projected output, but it seems likely that with the temporary structure alone — and much greater development of Espoir is expected — the field will be producing at least 40,000 barrels a day by the middle of next year. With an additional 10,000 barrels a day from the Belier, the Ivory Coast is slated to produce at the rate of about 2.5 million metric tons a year in 1982, enough oil to cover domestic needs with a small exportable surplus.

At this level, the Ivory Coast will be a minor oil producer in West Africa, rivaling Cameroon and Congo but far behind Nigeria, which produces more than 100 million metric tons of petroleum a year.

Optimistic forecasts in the Ivory Coast speak of 500,000 barrels a

day by the mid-1980s, making the Ivory Coast a major producer, but oil company officials say that these projections are premature.

"We're pleased with results so far at Espoir, but they aren't conclusive," Mr. Shaner said. Phillips drilled a very promising well in the Egyptian desert, which later turned out to be a minuscule find, while the same sort of positive early result in the North Sea eventually became the huge Ekofisk oil field. Espoir could go either way, according to Mr. Shaner.

There are signs that Phillips has a positive hunch about the Ivory Coast. The company has increased its foreign staff in Abidjan from eight last year to 40, and has rented out a new seven-story office building to house its personnel, plus employees of the U.S. oil drilling and service companies that are flocking to the Ivory Coast as subcontractors to Phillips.

Planned investment in the Espoir field is still a closely guarded secret, but each of the two semi-submersible rigs drilling offshore is costing about \$100,000 a day to operate.

The good news on oil has arrived at a time when the Ivory Coast's economic fortunes, which were so good during the 1970s, were beginning to deteriorate. Falling prices for cocoa and coffee, the traditional exports, and over-spending by the government have caused serious economic recession, with slower growth and higher unemployment this year.

The government and its foreign, mainly Western, backers are expecting oil to put the economy back on a healthy footing in a year or two.

With oil on the horizon, financial institutions have shown their willingness to extend major credits to Ivory coast, despite the country's already onerous debt burden.

Self-sufficiency in oil will also allow the country to resume its ambitious development plans, which call for \$6.5 billion in public sector investment during the next five years, in order to maintain a growth rate of 6 percent a year.

The 1981-1985 plan also contains projections for the second half of the decade of 7.7-percent annual growth, based on an oil output of about 3 million metric tons a year by 1990.

Once the oil starts flowing in considerable quantity, the main challenge facing the nation will be to use petroleum revenues judiciously to promote broad-based economic development.

—ROBERT HECHT

Nation Hopes to Turn Corner on Scaled-Down Sugar Plan

Special to the IHT

ABIDJAN — The Ivory Coast's gamble to become a leading African sugar producer hangs in the balance as the state company charged with the sugar program strives to recover the costs of the roughly \$1-billion project.

Faced with substantial cost overruns, a mounting debt and declining world prices for sugar, Sodesucre (Société pour le développement des plantations de Canne à Sucre) was forced to scale down its total of sugar complexes during the last few years from 13 to six.

Company officials say that, with this greatly reduced production base, Sodesucre will be a profitable operation, but only after absorbing losses through most of the 1980s.

With all six of the huge plantations and sugar extraction plants entering into production last year, output reached nearly 103,000 tons, making the Ivory Coast a net exporter of sugar for the first time. Exports of molasses, a byproduct of the sugar extraction process, had begun in 1978.

The entire 20,000 tons of sugar exported in 1980, worth \$8.6 million, went to the United States.

Sodesucre's financial director, Jérémie Ngouan, said that production in 1981 was expected to rise to 140,000 tons of sugar, with nearly

half destined for export and the rest for domestic consumption. He said that Portugal had already ordered 36,000 tons of Ivory Coast sugar, and that Sodesucre would have little difficulty finding other buyers "as we are still in the early stage of production."

Output for 1982 is estimated at 160,000 tons, as all six complexes gradually expand their operations, but Mr. Ngouan said that Sodesucre would not reach its maximum capacity of 300,000 tons annually until 1986 or 1987. Two-thirds of this would be for exports.

The Ivory Coast embarked on its sugar program in the early 1970s in an effort to diversify exports from its base of cocoa, coffee and timber. It was also aimed at saving foreign exchange by cutting sugar imports, but the key objective was to promote development in the relatively disadvantaged northern savanna region.

First Plantation

With average incomes in the southern rain forest zone — where cocoa and coffee are grown — several times larger than in the north, the government argued that the sugar program would boost employment and earnings for Ivory Coastians in the savanna region.

A first sugar plantation and mill with a 60,000-ton capacity was

built in the late 1960s, in the northern town of Ferkessedougou, by the U.S. firm Lang Engineering Afrique. But it was not until world sugar prices rose sharply in 1975 that the Ivory Coast formulated its large-scale sugar plan, to include 12 more complexes scattered about the northern part of the country. The plan was given impetus in 1976 and 1977, when high prices for cocoa and coffee brought the government hundreds of millions of dollars in unexpected earnings, much of which was later channeled into sugar development.

Some international financial experts warned that the bullish prices for sugar and for the Ivory Coast's chief agricultural exports might not last, but in the heady days when coffee was selling for \$3.30 a pound on the world market, Ivorian planners were confident that the sugar program was a safe gamble.

The sugar program was barely off the drawing boards when it began to encounter serious financial problems. The cost of the plantation complexes far exceeded the estimates, with the five new complexes that were built absorbing an average of \$160 million each.

An assessment of the construction of the five agro-industrial complexes, carried out by an Egyptian company for the Ivory

Coast in 1979, stated that foreign contractors had overcharged the Ivory Coast by \$142 million.

"At the time, we did not know the sugar business, and the foreign companies tried to sell as expensively as possible," Mr. Ngouan said. "We were also in a weak bargaining position because we had made a political decision to go ahead as rapidly as possible with sugar to help the northern region, so we had to accept less favorable conditions from the contractors."

Heavy Borrowing

The Ivory Coast was also forced to borrow heavily to finance the sugar program, with the five new complexes requiring \$700 million in foreign loans. Most of the money was borrowed from private banks at high interest rates, with repayment periods of 10 years or less.

As a result, Sodesucre's debt service has been very heavy, with repayments in 1981 running at about \$170 million, including interest payments of \$57 million.

A weakening of the world price of sugar in the last year has been another unwelcome event for the sugar industry. An independent report in 1980 stated that Sodesucre needed a world price of 35 cents a pound to break even. The current

price of sugar is about 16 cents. These unfavorable economic factors have forced the government to support Sodesucre financially through a combination of state subsidies and investment expenditures. In 1981, sugar alone took one-quarter of the public investment budget for agriculture.

As the government had virtually no experience in sugar production, the foreign companies that built the five production facilities were later awarded contracts to manage their operation for a fixed price.

These included Redpath, a Canadian subsidiary of Britain's Tate and Lyle; the Belgian firm Sorex Belge; ADRA, an agro-industrial subsidiary of France's Renault; the Dutch firm HVA-ENCO; and Buckau Wolf, a part of the West German Krupp industrial group.

The Ivorians, unhappy that the fixed-price contracts did not give the foreign managers incentives or penalties for poor performance, decided in 1979 to break the agreements and to set up what Mr. Ngouan called "technical assistance contracts," with the foreign firms paid for each ton of sugar produced. He said that the changes saved the Ivory Coast \$6.7 million during 1979-81.

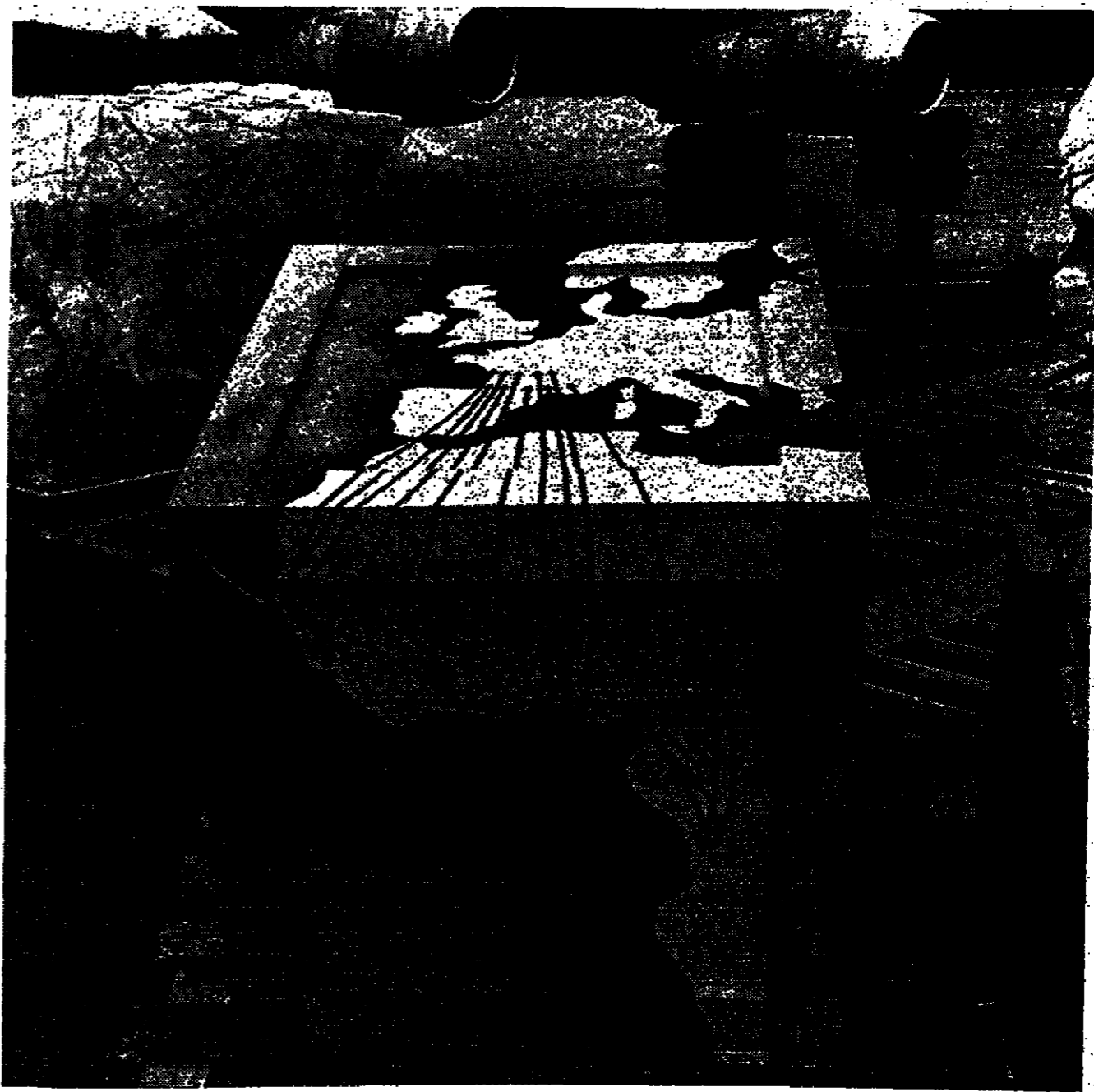
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Du Pont to Sell \$2 Billion in Assets by 1984

By Lydia Chavez
New York Times Service

WILMINGTON, Del. — The chairman of Du Pont, which acquired Cosco two months ago, said that his concern would sell natural resource assets valued at \$2 billion in the next three years to help retire some of its \$7.1 billion debt.

The chairman, Edward G. Jefferson, said Tuesday that "a sizeable piece" would be sold next year, but declined to specify what assets he had in mind.

Mr. Jefferson's remarks were made at the opening of a two-day gathering at which executives of

Du Pont and Cosco are scheduled to speak to more than 200 securities analysts and portfolio managers. The price of Du Pont's stock on the New York Stock Exchange dropped after the merger announcement last July, with some analysts expressing misgivings.

Doubling in Earnings Seen

As Mr. Jefferson put it, even Seagram Co., which owns 21 percent of Du Pont as a result of its attempt to acquire Cosco, "saw the combined company more positively than some here today."

The huge chemical and energy company expects to more than

double its earnings by 1985 to \$12.84 a share, with most of the growth coming from the company's interest in energy, polymers, chemicals and specialty businesses. But the forecast assumes that the price of oil will increase 2 to 3 percent above the rate of inflation, a hypothesis many analysts here dispute.

"If they are right on oil prices, the merger will be very advantageous, and if not, then it was an awesome mistake," said Robert Maloney, an analyst with the securities firm of Wood Gundy Inc. Cosco is the ninth-largest U.S. oil company.

Keith Banks, an analyst with

Home Insurance, a subsidiary of the City Investing Co., said analysts were concerned that a slow growth rate in Cosco's earnings could be a drag on Du Pont's performance.

Harry Flavin, an analyst with Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, said there seemed to be an inconsistency in Du Pont's projections for increased demand for oil and its own conservation program.

Move to Coal

The company, Mr. Flavin said, has plans to move from a 17-percent dependence on coal to a 70-percent dependence by 1990. "Other companies are taking the same steps," he noted.

Mr. Jefferson said that "the present recession could adversely affect the first half of 1982," with the low point occurring in the first quarter of next year.

He said that "the company is strongly dedicated" to improving its overall financial flexibility. One of Du Pont's priorities is to reduce its debt-to-capital ratio from the 40-percent range to the 30-percent range in the next several years, Mr. Jefferson said.

Of Du Pont's total debt of \$7.1 billion, about \$3.8 billion was incurred as a result of the Cosco acquisition. The company paid \$7.3 billion in cash and stock for Cosco. At first, Du Pont was paying 20 percent interest on the \$3.8 billion, but Mr. Jefferson said that in the last few weeks the company had put \$2 billion in private placements at about 13.4 percent and another \$1.1 billion in other credit instruments carrying interest rates of 14 percent to 14 1/2 percent.

Efforts for an EEC Stock Market Increase; Bourse Differences Lead List of Obstacles

By Philip Stephens
Reuters

BRUSSELS — The EEC Commission is stepping up efforts to create a community-wide stock market to rival the U.S. system and encourage more funds to flow into European securities, Common Market officials said.

The focus of its efforts has shifted from harmonizing rules and procedures of the existing national bourses to fostering closer trading links between them, they said.

Two consultants, appointed by the commission and the European Economic Community's committee of stock exchanges, are to start work on plans for a European Market System next month, they said.

The aim is not to create a single European stock exchange, the officials said, but to take advantage of communications advances to allow transmission of buy and sell orders from one exchange to another for shares listed in more than one country.

"The European market system would allow investors to buy or

sell securities on any EEC bourse to take advantage of the best price," said Christopher Cruickshank, a commission stock market specialist, in an interview.

The commission believes this would encourage competition between exchanges and help divert funds from bank deposits and other sources into securities by giving investors more choice.

The consultants will be concentrating on three areas central to the creation of such a market, Mr. Cruickshank said.

The first will be establishment of an EEC-wide communications system to allow transmission of prices between bourses.

There would also have to be a mechanism for electronic transmission of buy and sell orders, as well as a clearing system for payments and share transfers, he said.

Exchange of Information

Stock exchanges have already made a small move in this direction with the exchange of historic price information through the so-called Eurace system, the officials said.

Officials working on the scheme have been encouraged by the political backing of Commission vice president Christopher Tugendhat, and by the European Parliament, which passed a supportive resolution last month.

But the officials acknowledge the difficulty of forging closer contacts between bourses with very different trading methods. London's broker and jobber system, for example, contrasts sharply with the auction trading favored by the Paris and Brussels exchanges.

Agreement on a List

"We may have to make a small beginning, perhaps just linking three or so exchanges," Mr. Cruickshank said.

Bourses also would have to agree on a list of internationally quoted shares which could be traded between exchanges.

Opposition to the European Market System can be expected from small regional exchanges, particularly in West Germany, which fear a loss of interest in smaller companies if investors can trade better-known shares across national borders.

Companies that already trade shares internationally to take advantage of periodic price differences are also likely to raise objections if that market is opened to all investors, the officials said.

But they played down the impact that differences in national exchange control regulations and capital transfer taxes would have on any Europe-wide market, noting that international share transactions already take place despite the barriers.

Yamani Sees No Changes In Oil Prices Through '82

The Associated Press

ABU DHABI — Oil prices will not change until the end of 1982 "even if the dollar goes down," Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, Saudi Arabia's oil minister, said Wednesday.

"I have no doubt about that," Sheikh Yamani told reporters moments before the 62nd regular conference of OPEC began here.

Sheikh Yamani said that the oil cartel was thinking of a "nice Christmas gift" for the industrialized world, but refused to say more. He said the "gift" would become known by the end of the conference on Thursday.

Sources said Sheikh Yamani might be referring to a lowering of oil price differentials — a \$4 premium charged for high-quality oil located closer to markets. The premium is attached to the \$34 a barrel price for Saudi Arabian "marker" crude.

In an opening address, Indonesia's Oil Minister Subroto told the conference that the past two years have been hectic, and that the current difficulties facing OPEC require maximum solidarity.

United Arab Emirates Oil Min-

ister Mana Saeed Oteiba also noted the necessity of "placing the general interest [of OPEC] above the individual interests" of the various member states.

He complained about the glut on the oil market, but stopped short of suggesting a cutback in production. Mr. Oteiba also said oil prices will remain frozen until next December.

Libyan Oil Minister Abdel Salam al-Zaghar complained to reporters that Nigeria's oil selling price of \$36.50 a barrel was too low. Nigeria had to bring down its price because demand for its product dropped.

The Libyans and the Algerians sell the same high-quality crude at \$37.50 a barrel. Industry sources said the Libyans have been trying to match the Nigerian move by offering their customers a \$1.25 per-barrel discount.

Meanwhile, in Wilmington, Del., Jack Marshall, Cosco executive vice president, said Libya is preparing a new oil-price package for a number of companies that have a production sharing contract with Libya. He was not able to elaborate.

Pemex to Issue Notes In Swiss-Franc Sector

Reuters

ZURICH — The Mexican state energy company Petroleos Mexicanos will raise 75 million Swiss francs (\$41 million) with a private placement of five-year notes through a syndicate headed by Swiss Bank Corp., bond market sources said Wednesday.

The notes carry an indicated yield of 8 1/2 percent, but final conditions will be set early next week. The sources added that it was possible the offering could be increased to 100 million francs.

COMPANY REPORTS

Revenue and profits, in millions, are in local currencies unless otherwise indicated

Briton			
Borlwick (Thomas)			
Year	1981	1980	
Revenue	525.49	589.27	
Profit	1.41	10.50	
Japan			
Kubota			
1st Half	1981	1980	
Revenue	1,210	1,220	
Profit	24.04	38.93	
Results in U.S. dollars.			

AIR CANADA



René Amyot, Q.C.

The appointment by Governor in Council of René Amyot, Q.C., as Chairman of Air Canada, is announced by Claude I. Taylor, President & Chief Executive Officer.

Mr. Amyot, who has been a member of the Board of Directors of the national airline since March, 1981, succeeds Pierre Tardieu, Q.C.

Mr. Amyot is a partner in the firm of Amyot, Louche, Bernard, Drolet & Associés of Quebec City, and holds senior management and director posts in a number of Canadian companies, including Gas Provincial du Nord de Québec Ltd., The Imperial Life Assurance Co. of Canada, Logitech Corp., Dome Mines Ltd. and Rotmans of Pall Mall Canada Ltd.

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High	Low	Close	Change
2350 ANCA Int	2350	2350	0
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2350 ANCA Int	2350	2350	0
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High	Low	Close	Change
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Weekly net asset value

Tokyo Pacific Holdings N.V.

on January 1, 1980: U.S. \$66.42
on December 7, 1981: U.S. \$93.93

Listed on the Amsterdam Stock Exchange

Information: Pierson, Holding & Pierson N.V.,
Herengracht 214, 1016 BS Amsterdam.

Toronto Stocks
Closing Prices, Dec. 8, 1981

High	Low	Close	Change
2350 ANCA Int	2350	2350	0
2350 ANCA Int	2350	2350	0
2350 ANCA Int	2350	2350	0
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2350 ANCA Int	2350	2350	0
2350 ANCA Int	2350	2350	0
2350 ANCA Int	2350	2350	0

Montreal Stocks
Closing Prices, Dec. 8, 1981

High	Low	Close	Change
2350 ANCA Int	2350	2350	0
2350 ANCA Int	2350	2350	0
2350 ANCA Int	2350	2350	0
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Canadian Indexes
Dec. 9, 1981

Index	Value	Change
TSX 300 Index	1,952.10	+15.70
TSX 600 Index	3,262.30	+15.70

France, Laos to Restore Diplomatic Relations

PARIS — France and Laos are to re-establish diplomatic relations, the French External Relations Ministry has announced.

Relations were broken off in 1978 when Laos accused the French government of encouraging its citizens to flee the country. It closed the French Embassy in Vientiane after the French government allowed refugees from the Communist regime in Laos to settle in France.

AMEX Nationwide Trading Closing Prices Dec. 9

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

High	Low	Close	Change
2350 ANCA Int	2350	2350	0
2350 ANCA Int	2350	2350	0
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Other Stock Markets
Dec. 9, 1981
(Closing prices in local currencies)

Market	Value	Change
London	2,350.00	+15.70
Paris	1,952.10	+15.70
Hong Kong	3,262.30	+15.70
Singapore	1,952.10	+15.70
Sydney	3,262.30	+15.70
Zurich	1,952.10	+15.70
Tokyo	3,262.30	+15.70
Milan	1,952.10	+15.70

Frankfurt

High	Low	Close	Change
2350 ANCA Int	2350	2350	0
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New Issue

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December 1981

PHILIPS

N. V. PHILIPS' GLOEILAMPENFABRIEKEN

Eindhoven/The Netherlands

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— Private Placement —

Berliner Handels- und Frankfurter Bank

Swiss Bank Corporation International Limited

This announcement appears as a matter of record only.

OCTOBER 1981

U.S. \$350,000,000

Banco Industrial de Venezuela, C.A.

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Lead Managed by

Credit Suisse First Boston Limited

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The Kyowa Bank, Ltd.

Lloyds Bank International Limited

The Mitsui Bank, Limited

National Westminster Bank Group

The Nippon Credit Bank, Ltd.

RepublicBank Dallas, National Association

Republic National Bank of New York (Panama) Inc.

The Tokai Bank, Limited

Trade Development Bank Overseas Inc.

Managed by

The National Commercial Bank (Saudi Arabia)

Provided by

Australia and New Zealand Banking Group Ltd., Singapore

County Bank Limited

Credit Suisse Limited

Crocker National Bank Limited

European Arab Bank Limited

The First National Bank of Chicago

First Union National Bank of North Carolina

Hawaii Financial Corporation (Hong Kong) Ltd.

International Westminster Bank Limited

Korea Exchange Bank, Panama Branch

The Kyowa Bank, Ltd.

Lloyds Bank International Limited

The Mitsui Bank, Limited

Morgan Grenfell & Co. Limited

The National Bank of Washington

The Nippon Credit Bank, Ltd.

The Nippon Trust and Banking Co., Ltd.

RepublicBank Dallas, National Association

Republic National Bank of New York (Panama) Inc.

The Saitama Bank Limited

The Saudi National Commercial Bank O.B.U. Bahrain

Shawmut Bank of Boston NA

Singapore Nomura Merchant Banking Limited

The Tokai Bank, Limited

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High	Low	Div.	In	\$ Yld.	P/E	100s.	High	Low	Prev Close
24 1/8	9 1/4	T.Bond	5	7	84	17 1/2	16 1/4	17	+ 1/4
20 1/2	12	T.Bond	2	12 1/2	35	13	13	13	

[illegible]

Dec. 7, 1961

1. **125000-001****Closing Prices, Dec. 9, 1981**

Int.	Coupon Next	Bid	Asked
43	1 1/2%	1-29	108 1/2%
43	1 1/2%	2-26	100 3/4%

[illegible]

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By Eugene T. Malesha



B.
C.

[illegible]

December 9 1987

[illegible]

INFEG

With an **Orange** A-10001, 10000, 10000 and 10000

RAWLD

ASOURE

EMBALC

Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

Yesterday's Jumbles: GUARD AGENT BOUNTY GIBLET
Answer: Stared at the motorcyclist—"GOGGLED"

Imprimé par P.I.O. - 1, Boulevard Ney 75018 Paris

"WE'VE BEEN ROBBIN' FOR BANANAS IN THE JELLO!"

THE MINDS OF BILLY MILLIGAN

By Daniel Keves. 374 pp. \$15.50

Random House, 201 East 50th Street, New York 10022.

Reviewed by Joseph McLellan

NEGOTIATIONS for the contract to write this book were rather complicated — as most things in the life of Billy Milligan were complicated. To show his qualifications, Daniel Keyes sent a copy of his novel, "Flowers for Algernon," to a sort of committee which examined and discussed it: "That week Allen, Arthur and Billy took turns reading the novel," Keyes reports.

"When they were finished, Billy said to Arthur, 'I think he's the one who should do the book.' Arthur agreed, but Ragen, another member of the group, thought the book should not be written because it might reveal crimes he had committed. Allen suggested that it would be easy enough to deny anything incriminating, and Ragen was finally persuaded by the prospect that the book could make a lot of money.

This might be the account of a fairly ordinary committee meeting except for one point: Allen, Arthur, Billy and Ragen all use the same body — Billy's — which they share with 20 other persons (not, they insist, "personalities" of varied age, sex, talents, nationalities and professions). This "body" is the first, and only, personality to be publicly identified by his real name, extensively observed in public mental health facilities and made the subject of widely reported litigation. The reason for all this public identification is that some of the personalities are criminal; and Billy, the public personality, had to stand trial on charges of robbery, kidnapping, rape and assault with a deadly weapon — activities

ness of which he was totally unaware. Billy spent a good part of his life being a "good" man. But, like others "put him to sleep" in 1971, after he attempted to commit suicide, and he remained unaware — out of control of his own actions — until late 1977, when he woke up in jail. Arthur, the organizer and intellectual of the group (who had taught himself Arabic and Urdu) was the only one who possessed a strict set of rules for the six-year regency period; many of Billy's "tenants" were banished entirely because of socially undesirable qualities. Others would be allowed to hold the "spot" — the control center for public actions, communication, etc. from time to time, in situations suited to their particular talents. The tenants ranged from cooking, painting and playing golf to martial arts, lock-picking and the handling of explosives or electronic gadgetry. Allen, who had considerable public-relations skills and probably the best techniques for coping with day-to-day reality, would

be the usual "front man" for encounters with the outside world. Aristotle would make the same point in non-threatening situations, but Reagan (a Yugoslav of unusual strength, agility, and skill with guns and knives) would take over when there was danger. Others had highly specialized roles, usually connected to the reasons for which they had been conceived in the first place. David, for example, an 8-year-old who was the "keeper of pipes" and "custodian of the keys," absorbing all the hurt and suffering of the others; or Mark, 16, sometimes called "the zombie," who would take care of monotonous labor — or just stare at the wall if he had nothing else to do; or Jason, 13, the pressure valve, who would release the others' pressure through screaming or throwing a tantrum and would also have bad memories, causing partial amnesia. Daniel Keyes supplies a complete, annotated list of characters at the beginning of the book — a considerable help to the reader in keeping track of

The youngest of the 24 people in Billy is Christine, a shy, pretty 3-year-old who was brought into existence in Billy's early years to provide "companionship for a lonely child." She re-

became important to have someone who knew little or nothing about what was happening. Her not knowing was an important protective device. If William had to hide something, she would come on the spot and draw or play hopscotch or cuddle the little Raggedy Ann doll."

Other characters were generated to help cope with various crises of Billy's childhood, which was anything but happy. His father, a professional comedian, committed suicide; his stepfather left him (and his various alter egos) scarred with scarring memories of beatings, sexual abuse, and one traumatic incident where he was threatened with burial alive.

The development of different personalities to cope with different problems is an ingenious ad hoc solution, but the arrogant individual in Billy did not always communicate with one another and his life became almost a series of disconnected fragments. In the quiet lapses of memory from periods when his own personality was not on the spot, and he would be called a liar because of memory failures or because a person who was not Billy was using Billy to speak truthfully for himself. For example, most of his personalities remained virginal long after one had had his first sexual experience. The sort of confusion and the implications of the various personalities that criminal finally led him to his suicide attempt while he was in high school and then to Arthur's establishment of the rules for what might be called the Billy Junta. Another ad hoc solution — one that worked well enough most of the time but sometimes failed abysmally — during what the Billy group would call "mix-up times," when Arthur and the other leaders would lose

colours and uniforms were also to be avoided. The same others were also to be considered as a disgrace for the family. Billy was in seclusion. Philip, the petting criminal; Kevin, who dealt in drugs and master-minded a drug store robbery; April, "the bitch," whose only ambition was to kill Billy's stepfather. A special case is Adriana, a 19-year-old lesbian who suffers from loneliness and years for sex as a way of communicating, she is allowed to take the spot occasionally for her cooking and housekeeping skills. Billy's most serious legal problem in the book stems from three occasions when Adriana abruptly preempted the spot and began making love to women while one of the other characters was engaged in robbing them at gunpoint. The courts called it robbery, abduction and rape — adequate descriptions of what happened, but the total reality is somewhat more complex.

Complexity is, in fact, the keynote of the Billy phenomenon and equality of its treatment by Daniel Keyes. The challenge of first mentioning this story (buried in many partial and often conflicting memories) and then telling it intelligently was a daunting one. He has carried it off brilliantly, bringing to the assignment not only a fine clarity but a special warmth, and empathy for the victim of circumstances and mental failings that made "Flowers for Algernon" one of the most mem-

Like the novel, the nonfiction work ends with a special flavor of intense anguish. The Ohio system of criminal justice—woefully inadequate to deal with a prison inmate population of 11,000—was transformed in the days of Billy Milligan, and when he was turned over to the state's public mental health system, the results were hardly better. Billy Milligan (as Keyes tells the story—and his case is convincing) fell into the power of the wrong people repeatedly at crucial points. In the basic decision between retribution (in the name of public safety) and an attempt to rehabilitate him in the name of common decency, the wrong choices were made, over and over again. At the end, after many ups and downs and some promising efforts to integrate his various selves into an effective, functioning personality, the epilogue finds Billy slowly disintegrating in a maximum-security institution for the criminally insane. He calls the place "the cage." He is now "the Dying Place, the Dying Place, the Dying Place," and he is a "man in the cage." "I am a freak," he says in a biological error. We all hate this place, but it is where we belong."

His story is an incredibly unhappy one, but at least he has found the right person to tell it.

Joseph McLellan is a member of the staff of The Washington Post.

By Alan Truscott

THE contract of five clubs was reached after East began with a weak two-bid in hearts and West carried him to game. South's successive doubles forced action from North, whose eventual four no-trump bid asked his partner to pick a minor suit. After winning the opening heart lead in dummy, South saw that his main hope was to score three spade tricks. Since the spade ace was likely to be with West, one obvious chance was to find East with jack-8-x. This was not the position, but nevertheless South had good chances after drawing trumps ending in dummy and leading the spade ten.

In practice, East ruined the defense chances by failing to cover with the jack. The ten forced the ace, and the rest was easy. A later finesse of the spade nine allowed South to discard two diamonds from the dummy and make his game.

NORTH (D)

♠103
♥A6
♦10743
♣QJ732

WEST **EAST**

♠A862 ♥J43
♥J1072 ♣KQ8543
♦QJ65 ♦KS
♣8 ♣94

|||||

SOUTH

♠KQ97
♥5
♦A92.
♣AK1085.

North and South were vulnerable.

The bidding:

- North	East	South	West
Pass	2C	Dbl.	4C
Pass	Pass	Dbl.	Pass
A.N.T.	Pass	5C	Pass

Some Storm Clouds Over Nassau

By George Vecsey
New York Times Service

NASSAU, the Bahamas — Muhammad Ali may be healthier than some people think. His fight may be sicker than anybody could have imagined.

At least Ali has the endorsement of the doctor who examined him most recently. The financial status of the fight seems shaky even to the promoter, James Cornelius, who said Tuesday, "We're just trying to give Muhammad Ali a place to fight. We're just hoping to break even."

But there are signs that the fight will fall far below that: tickets are being openly scalped down and the number of seats has been dropped to 11,000, although Cornelius still claims there will be 6,000 more.

On this island of turquoise waters and blue skies, the fight Ali is preparing for his Friday night fight with Trevor Berbick in a half-empty makeshift stadium. He should have been in his final public workout Tuesday, then promised he would "make the press bow down to the master" Friday night.

Ali is much more confident about the state of his health than about the fight. Asked if he was satisfied with the financial conditions, he muttered hoarsely, "I got paid \$3 million, maybe \$4 million. I don't know — I'm not worried, I don't know."

Cornelius, Ali's Los Angeles-based friend who set up a Bahamian corporation, Sports International, to produce the fight, has been bustling from meeting to meeting without giving much information about the fight. But Tuesday he was cornered by a few reporters during Ali's workout and pressed for details.

Two weeks ago, various published reports said that only 3,000 tickets had been sold, but Bahamian officials in Sports International insisted that U.S. travel agencies had accounted for half of the 17,000 tickets.

The latest report is that only 2,000 tickets have been sold. Tuesday, Cornelius, a tall man in a black suit, said: "We've sold 5,000 tickets. They are going fast, very fast."

But he admitted his company would be happy to break even, and added, "I'm not making any money out of this. I'm a poor man. Please don't ask me any other questions."

Seating and Satisfaction

Last week the supermarket outlets dropped the price of \$50 tickets to \$10 for Bahamians. Cornelius told reporters there were "seats left, 17,000 seats" at the arena under construction. But Melvin Paetz, chairman of the arena, said the number of seats was dropped from 17,000 to 11,000 last week — "from 27 rows of bleachers to 12."

There are only 12 rows in evidence at the arena.

There were nearly no seats at all. Paetz says he and his crew were "half an hour away" from returning to North Carolina last week when "we received some satisfaction."

He meant money.

The Queen Elizabeth Sports Centre is a modest complex

of a running track, recreation facilities and a baseball stadium with about 2,000 permanent seats. Near the ticket office are photographs and statistics of the four Bahamians who have played in the major leagues: Andre Rodgers, Tony Curry, Edison Armbrister and Wenty Ford.

On another wall is a reminder for the fans: "Watch Your Mouth and Tongue; Remember the Ladies and the Kids." Despite being several days behind schedule, Paetz predicts the arena will be ready by Friday afternoon. Workmen are finishing a rough cement wall that would hold back the crowds that may or may not arrive.

Medical Dope

There is no lack of medical information about Ali. Two weeks ago the promoters released a report from the UCLA Medical Center that said he was in fine shape. Monday, Dr. Harry Demopoulos of the New York University Medical Center visited Ali.

The two had met through Clint Eastwood, the actor and a mutual friend, and Demopoulos, a pathologist and an associate research professor, had agreed to test Ali earlier this year. "There is no evidence of any damage to any vital organ or system," Demopoulos said at Monday's workout. Later the doctor repeated his findings for a reporter who had just got off the plane from New York and was ushered into the dressing room. The boxer was lying on his couch after the workout, clad in a robe, as an aide massaged his feet. Ali's eyes followed the doctor's face, as if Ali wanted to hear the evidence over and over again.

"Not only was there no evidence of damage, but the physicians were surprised by the positive things we found," Demopoulos said. "We discovered that Muhammad's blood vessels were the blood vessels of a young man. If you didn't look at the number 39 in the age slot, there is no way you could tell. He's in excellent condition for any activity, and that includes fighting. I do not mean just for this fight. I mean for years to come."

But what about the slurred speech, which many people have noticed about Ali in recent years?

"The slurring is real, it is there," Demopoulos said. "But if you examine fighters who are what we call 'punchy,' you will find it there all the time. With Muhammad, it comes and goes. He came into my class and talked to the med students on the meaning of life, with great wit and conviction."

"His slurring of speech is more like a vaudevilleian flubbing his speech, stuttering and stammering from nervousness. It is a psychosocial response from fatigue, from boredom. I have seen it come and go, depending on who he was talking to."

"The neurologists say they don't need sophisticated equipment to measure punchiness. They just listen. They said Ali is not punchy."

But even if Ali is not in as bad a shape as his former physician, Dr. Ferdie Pacheco, and others fear, should he be



Ali in the Bahamas.

"I'm not worried. I don't know..."

fighting at nearly 40? Isn't there a point when athletes lose an inch off their fastball, can no longer go over the rim?

"At the moment, he's a triathlete," Demopoulos said. "But look at the red-belt karate expert in Japan. They go on until they're 50 and 60, beating men who are 21. We have an old president, who has the toughest job in the world. He was shot badly and nobody said, 'Mr. president, you haven't recovered from the wound.' He did. Look at conductors who lead orchestras at the age of 70 or 80."

"Some people are unique."

At that, Ali pointed his index finger at his forehead. He is proud of being unique, and his medical health is more certain than the financial health of this fight.

Phil Mahre Edges Stenmark by :15 In Opening Slalom of World Cup

From Agency Dispatches

MADONNA DI CAMPIGLIO, Italy — Phil Mahre of the United States handed Ingemar Stenmark of Sweden his second setback in two days by winning the World Cup season's first slalom race here Wednesday.

Mahre denied Stenmark his 63rd World Cup victory by 15 hundredths of a second — a victory that would have finally put Stenmark ahead of Austrian Annemarie Moser-Pörtl and alone atop the all-time World Cup winners list.

Top Form

The 24-year-old Mahre, already in top form and seeking a second straight World Cup title, mastered the two beats on the icy Miramonti track in a total time of 1 minute, 38.89 seconds.

In the four days since the season started, Mahre has posted one victory, one second-place finish and has taken a combined title for a commanding lead with 70 points in the overall standings.

Mahre, who had won two slaloms last season, skied two flawless heats, clocking the second-fastest times in both.

Mahre looked a little surprised after his victory "because this is the first slalom I have run in three weeks."

But he was happy with the victory on a slightly icy course, which dropped 170 meters (about 560 feet).

"I feel pretty good," Mahre said moments after his triumph. "I tend to think I do better in the slalom than in the giant slalom."

Stenmark was the fastest skier in the first run, but had a poor second leg. He took a gate too wide at midcourse and lost precious time.

Stenmark, who edged Mahre by .36 of a second in the first heat, finished 1.5 behind overall with a time of 1:39.04.

Italian veteran Paolo de Chiesa, skiing his best slalom in three years, clocked the fastest time in the second heat, 50.52 seconds, and finished third overall.

Stenmark, a three-time World Cup champion who refuses to risk his legs in the grueling downhill races, was displeased with the layout of the course.

"I think the gates were set a bit too straight," he said. "I lost some of my concentration as well."

Organizers of the race used experimental "rabbit" gates that spring back to an upright position after racers brush against them.

The new gates will be used at the world championships in Schladming, Austria, which begin Jan. 27.

Stenmark, who was third in Tuesday's giant slalom at Aprica to Joël Gaspoz of Switzerland and Mahre, did not appear upset after

Wednesday's setback, saying, "Anybody still can win the Cup."

Mahre agreed, downplaying the rivalry between himself and Stenmark. "There's no duel between Ingemar and myself," he said.

Confident

But he also admits to having plenty of confidence in his racing this year.

"I made mental notes last season when I was winning," said Mahre. "And I refer to them now on the course."

"I know what I need to do to win."

In a race dominated by veteran skiers, Paul Frommelt of Liechtenstein and Italian Piero Gros placed fourth and fifth, respectively.

Steve Mahre, Phil's twin brother, finished 11th, after dropping six places from the first heat as a result of an error at the same gate that perhaps cost Stenmark a victory.

Steve Mahre came down before Phil — and quickly relayed the

tricky spot's conditions to his brother by walkie-talkie.

Slalom specialists such as Andreas Wenzel of Liechtenstein, Bojan Križaj of Yugoslavia and Alexander Zhurav of the Soviet Union all finished far back.

In the overall standings, Stenmark is in second place with 35 points, followed by Swiss downhill specialist Peter Müller with 30.

World's Slalom

1. Phil Mahre, U.S.A., 1 minute, 38.89 seconds.
2. Ingemar Stenmark, Sweden, 1:39.04.
3. Paolo de Chiesa, Italy, 1:39.40.
4. Paul Frommelt, Liechtenstein, 1:39.85.
5. Piero Gros, Italy, 1:40.88.
6. Jari Nieminen, Finland, 1:41.88.
7. Franz Gruber, Austria, 1:42.82.
8. Siffron Stenmark, Sweden, 1:43.82.
9. Christian Gmünder, Austria, 1:44.82.
10. Alexander Zhurav, Soviet Union, 1:45.82.

World Cup Standings

1. Phil Mahre, 70 points.
2. Stenmark, 35 points.
3. Peter Müller, Switzerland, 30.
4. Joël Gaspoz, Switzerland, 25.
5. Andreas Wenzel, Liechtenstein, 20.
6. Franz Klammer, Austria, 15.
7. Alexander Zhurav, Soviet Union, 10.
8. Toni Bärnli, Switzerland, 5.
9. Soviet Union, 4.
10. Soviet Union, 3.



Phil Mahre

"I know what I need to do to win."

And in the Best-Athletes Category: The Envelope, Please...

By Bill Shirley

LOS ANGELES — Most professional basketball players can't hit major league pitching, finish a marathon, pole vault as high as a basket or return a Roscoe Tanner serve. But as a group, in the view of a majority of experts polled by The Los Angeles Times, they are the best athletes playing any sport today.

Rating the athletes were sportswriters, sportscasters, coaches, an orthopedic surgeon, and professors of kinesiology, the study of human muscular movements.

Webster's defines an athlete as "a person trained in exercises, games, or contests requiring physical strength, skill, stamina, speed,..." The Times asked the experts to consider the "..." as durability, flexibility, agility, quickness, reflexes, grace and hand-eye coordination — or, in the case of soccer, foot-eye coordination.

The athletes were also measured against a composite ideal athlete defined by Dr. Robert Kerlan, an orthopedic surgeon, the Los Angeles Rams' team doctor and founder of the National Athletic Health Institute. Such an athlete, Kerlan said, would have the:

- Heart and lungs of a marathon runner.
- Legs of a ballet dancer.
- Arms of a champion boxer.
- Abdominal and back musculature of a top gymnast.
- Neck of a weightlifter or football player.

A pro basketball player, most of

the experts said, best exemplifies all these qualities.

Boxers and tennis players received strong support, but two of the most violent sports, football and basketball, were hardly mentioned. The choice of basketball as No. 1 is not surprising to those who have watched it, tall, graceful players maneuver skillfully around 4,700 square feet of hardwood with the agility of gymnasts and the stamina of boxers. Some have better hand-eye coordination than magicians and leap higher than springboards.

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Probation for UCLA

From Agency Dispatches

LOS ANGELES — The University of California (Los Angeles) basketball program — the most successful in college history — has been placed on two years' probation and banned from tournament play this season for National Collegiate Athletic Association violations ranging from reduced apartment rates for players to giving a recruit a T-shirt.

The sanctions, announced by the NCAA late Tuesday, include prohibiting the team from participating in next spring's NCAA and National Invitational Tournaments.

The team's second-place finish in the 1980 NCAA Tournament was also voided because some violations affected the eligibility of two players at the time of the event.

The school is required to return its trophy and the awards given to the ineligible players, who were not named.

UCLA has a record 10 national titles and 60 NCAA Tournament victories. It lost to Louisville 59-54 in the 1980 championship game.

In addition, UCLA has been told to "dissociate one representative of its athletic interests from participating in any recruiting activities on behalf of the university in the future."

The school had been informed of the impending probation several weeks ago. It is unlikely to appeal.

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Art Buchwald

An Attack? Forget It!

WASHINGTON — Richard Allen has been cleared of any wrongdoing with regard to the \$1,000 he accepted from the Japanese magazine Shufumotomo for an interview given by Nancy Reagan. The Justice Department has decided there is no reason to go any further into the matter, and has accepted Allen's explanation that he took the envelope stuffed with cash, gave it to his secretary, and then forgot about it, until the money popped up eight months later in a safe in his office.



Buchwald

Since the Justice Department is satisfied, I'm satisfied with the outcome of the investigation. But Trenchant, who works down the hall from me, still thinks Allen should go as the president's national security adviser.

Trenchant said, "He was cleared of wrongdoing, but not of being absent-minded. Nobody wants a guy as national security adviser who forgets."

"Everyone forgets," I said. "Yeh, but when the president's national security adviser forgets it could mean the end of the world. Suppose the president calls up Allen some night and says, 'Is it Honduras or Nicaragua we're supposed to send helicopter gunships to?' and Allen says, 'I forget.' How do you think the president would feel?"

"He probably wouldn't sleep too well," I said. "But just because Allen forgot about the \$1,000 from a Japanese magazine doesn't mean he forgets everything."

"Oh, no. What about the charges that he forgot to list the clients he represented when he had a consulting business before he went into the government. Allen claims a White House lawyer told him he didn't have to list them. Then he was asked the name of the lawyer and he said, 'I forget.'"

"Nobody can be expected to remember every lawyer's name in the White House," I said.

"The national security adviser to the president is supposed to have everything on the tip of his tongue. That's why he has immediate access to the president. Let's say the president is planning on building

an airfield in the Middle East. He doesn't know whether to put it in North Yemen or South Yemen."

"What difference does it make?"

"North Yemen happens to be our client, and South Yemen is being supplied by the Soviets," Trenchant said. "Suppose Allen has forgotten this and he tells the president 'South Yemen,' because he has it mixed up with South Korea. We might build an airfield for Soviet planes."

"That's ridiculous. I know for a fact that Allen has a large map on the wall of his office and our friends are marked in green and our enemies in red. He'd never get the two Yemens mixed up."

"Okay, let's take the worst case situation any national security adviser has to deal with. One day the president calls up Allen and says, 'Where is the button I have to push in case the balloon goes up?' Allen says, 'I think I gave it to my secretary on the day after inauguration.' And the president says, 'I have to know where it is right now.' Allen starts looking all over the office for it, but can't find it. His secretary doesn't remember Allen giving it to her."

"Let me continue. The only other person who knows where the button is is Secretary of State Al Haig. Allen calls up Haig and asks where he kept the button when he worked in the White House. But Haig is suspicious, because he thinks this is just another play in the game of the White House. So he gives Allen a lot of doubletalk, which Haig is very good at."

"Now here we have a president of the United States, who doesn't know where the button is, his national security adviser, who has forgotten, and the secretary of state, who won't tell him. Eight months later they find the button in a filing cabinet in the Executive Office Building. How would you feel about that?"

"So you're saying the president should not take back Allen even if he's cleared on all the charges?" I said.

"I'm not saying he should be fired, but he should be put in some nonsensitive job like the Office of Management and Budget, where if you forget something it doesn't hurt anybody."

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Rod Stewart: Back to Real Rock?

By Robert Palmer

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The history of rock 'n' roll is essentially a rags-to-riches story. The music of poor whites and poor blacks merged in the mid-'50s to become the most popular music in the United States. Through it, performers from poor or middle-class backgrounds have risen to undreamed-of pinnacles of stardom and earned substantial fortunes.

Rod Stewart grew up in working-class north London, the son of a Scottish-born construction worker. He supported himself as a street singer and grave-digger before becoming one of the most popular and distinctive rock singers of the '70s. Now 36, he lives as a tax exile from Britain in an exclusive area of Los Angeles.

The relationship between material success and creativity seems to be particularly problematic for rock stars; there is such a thing as too much success. Stewart has been attacked by critics and younger rock musicians for his lavish Hollywood way of living, which reached a pinnacle of sorts during the late '70s when his former girlfriend, Britt Ekland, sued him for \$15-million in "palimony."

Stewart's responses were an out-of-court settlement and a phenomenally successful album called "Blondes Have More Fun" — the title referred to his penchant for blondes, from Ekland to Alana Hamilton, the actress he married in 1978. The album included a song called "Da Ya Think I'm Sexy?" that became a huge hit but was also a fall into the banal shadows of disco. It was seized on by his detractors as proof that his songwriting had deteriorated markedly.

But like the Rolling Stones, Stewart seems to have found his second wind. He is on a four-month tour of the United States and Canada, and on Dec. 18 his performance at the Los Angeles Forum will be televised worldwide, and simulcast on FM radio, via satellite hook-ups. The ad hoc network for the show will reach 85 percent of U.S. television-owning homes and millions more around the world.

"Tonight I'm Yours," his new album, is his most consistent and satisfying LP since the early '70s. Stewart's marriage, his first, seems to have been a turning point. He was once a renowned drinker, and when he was living with Ekland, his life sometimes seemed to be a ceaseless round of Hollywood parties. He has drastically cut back on his drinking, and according to his wife, "We hardly ever go out now. We'd rather stay at home."

When he appeared in New York recently, he brought along the most impressive band he has ever led. He readily, if somewhat ruefully, admitted that these improvements were a response to what many fans had recognized as a deterioration in his work.

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In New York, the night before his performance on "Saturday Night Live," Stewart visited the Ritz to hear Tina Turner, who was to perform the next night. Stewart and his band, the Jeff Beck group, then lead vocalists with the live and sometimes chaotic Faces. When his longtime friend and song-writing partner Ron Wood left the Faces to become a Rolling Stone in 1976, the group disbanded, and Stewart put together the first band he could call his own.

On "Tonight I'm Yours," these phases are recalled by a song, an arrangement, a vocal ornament, or a fragment of a lyric. And Stewart's determination to build his bands around three electric

guitarists has finally born fruit. Each of the three who works for him now can do a number of things well, but all seem to prefer ensemble playing to soloing.

Traces of disco rhythms linger in Stewart's music, but in the songs "Tonight I'm Yours" and "Young Turks," he and his band have bred an ingenious hybrid from disco's evenly pulsating eighth notes and the more syncopated rhythms first popularized by Chuck Berry in the 1950s. "Young Turks," the first song from the album to be released as a single, is Stewart's account of a young couple who run away from their homes, head for the West Coast, move into "a two-room apartment that was jumping every night of the week," and live happily ever after. The lyrics casually drop details that make the two protagonists come alive.

Stewart has often been a wonderfully vivid lyricist, but in "Young Turks" he outdoes himself. The lyrics of "Tonight I'm Yours" are more predictable, but it has an attractive melody and momentum and a ravishing, carefully constructed instrumental break.

Stewart's Dec. 18 performance will be televised worldwide.



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Bill Blass escorts Diana Vreeland to the New York ball.

PEOPLE: Met Museum Launches Show With Mass Chic

At \$350 a head, the 350-guest party given by the Metropolitan Museum of Art's Costume Institute for its exhibition, "Eighteenth Century Woman," was the most expensive charity affair in New York — and certainly the best attended. Hebe Dorsey reports from New York. The purpose of the exhibition (open to the public Dec. 16 until August) is, to quote the press release, "to celebrate the unique way the 18th-century woman of fashion used her femininity, her elaborate dress and her coquettishness to influence the men and, through them, the politics, economics and aesthetics of that era." The result is about 125 costumes marking fashion landmarks of the 18th century. Just about everybody in town swept in, often with entourage, as well as many designers and celebrities — Henry Kissinger and Raquel Welch, William S. Paley and Evangeline Bruce, Estee Lauder and Joseph Lander, Arthur and Carol Schreiber, Douglas Fairbanks and Charlotte Colburn, Louise Nevelson and Arnold Scaasi, Mary McFadden and Patrick Leman, Oscar de la Renta and sexy-jeans king Calvin Klein. Halston was escorting Bianca Jagger and Perry Ellis was hugging Pauline Trigere. Last but not least, Bill Blass with the belle of the ball, Diana Vreeland, former editor of Vogue and New York's empress of fashion. For the last 10 years, the legendary Vreeland (who writes about Altuzarra while everybody else is still stuck on Style) has turned the austere Costume Institute into the best show in town. Since her first exhibition, a Balenciaga retrospective, she has drawn millions

of people to the Met, with records broken by the 1976 Russian exhibition, which drew 840,000 people.

In Liverpool, the city where John Lennon and The Beatles rose to fame, thousands of fans from all over the world held an all-night vigil, one year after he was shot and killed in New York. They stood in silence with lighted candles at a 13-foot fiberglass statue showing the former Beatle wearing jeans, one hand gripping the peace sign, the other holding a guitar. Earlier they took part in a memorial service and listened to a rock concert. Cynthia Newmark, 23, traveled from Minnesota for the anniversary. "I knew I just wanted to be in Liverpool today no matter what anyone else was doing," she said. "I grew up with John Lennon and his music like so many people of my generation. And I still miss him."

Actor Robert Wagner has returned to work on his television series "Hart to Hart," nine days after his actress-wife Natalie Wood drowned. Production on the popular ABC series had been shut down last week as the actor secluded himself in his Beverly Hills home. Wood's body was found Nov. 29 floating in the ocean off Santa Catalina Island, where she and Wagner and actor Christopher Walken had been spending the Thanksgiving holiday aboard the couple's yacht. ABC said the production delay on the series, now in its third season, should not affect air dates since the company was several episodes ahead.

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